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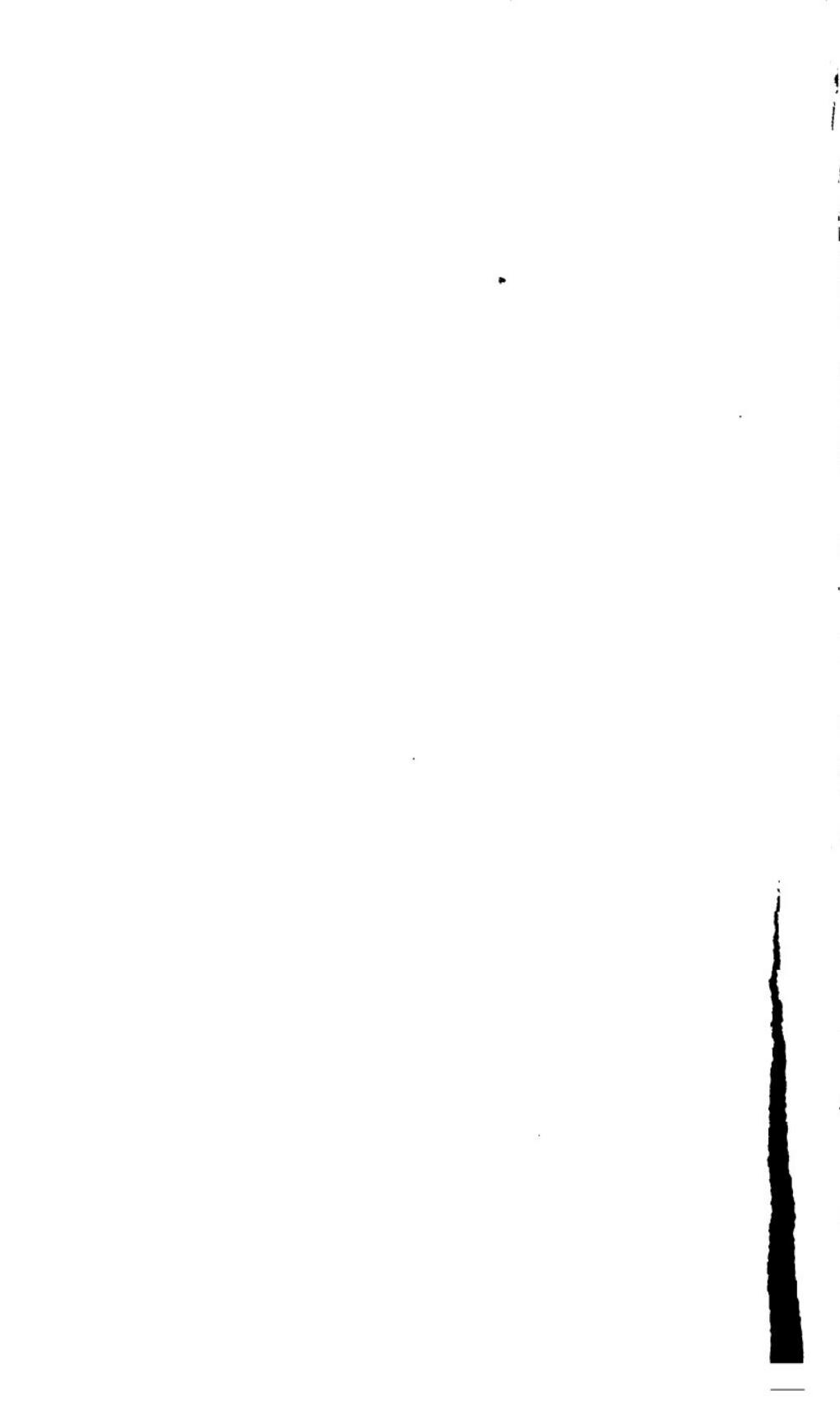
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Castello



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THE
Earl of Castlehaven's
REVIEW :
OR HIS
MEMOIRS
OF HIS
Engagement and Carriage,
IN THE
Irish Wars,
Enlarged and Corrected.
WITH AN
APPENDIX and POSTSCRIPT.

London, Printed for Charles Brome, at the
Gun in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1684.

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THE
EARL OF CASTLEHAVEN'S

REVIEW,

OR HIS

MEMOIRS

OF HIS

ENGAGEMENT AND CARRIAGE

IN THE

IRISH WARS:

WITH

LORD ANGLESEY'S LETTER,

CONTAINING

OBSERVATIONS AND REFLEXIONS

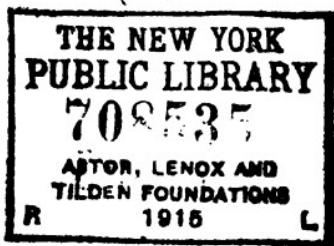
THEREON.



PRINTED FOR GEORGE MULLEN, TEMPLE-BAR,
DUBLIN, 1815.

PRINTED
FOR THE
LITERARY

Castlehaven
CSA



Dublin : Printed by Graisberry and Campbell,
10, Back-lane, 1815.

ANONY W3M
DUBLIN
YRAARBLI

*The present very limited impression
of Lord Castlehaven's Memoirs, is taken
from the edition of 1684 ;—the Dedication
to the King, and the Epistle to the Reader,
from the first and very scarce edition of the
Memoirs and of the Appendix ; the former
published in 1680, the latter in 1681.—The
rarity of the letter from the Earl of Angle-
sey, referred to in the Appendix, and the
consequences of its publication, are perhaps
sufficient reasons for its being now subjoined.
—The brief notice prefixed of Lord Castle-
haven's life, is taken from Lord Oxford's
Royal and Noble Authors,*



JAMES TOUCHET,
EARL OF CASTLEHAVEN
AND
BARON AUDLEY,

IF this Lord, who led a very martial life, had not taken the pains to record his own actions (which however he has done with great frankness and ingenuity), we should know little of his story, our historians scarce mentioning him : and even our writers of anecdotes, as Burnet ; or of tales and circumstances, as Roger North ; not giving any account of a Court-quarrel occasioned by his Lordship's Memoirs. Anthony Wood alone * has preserved this event, but has not made it intelligible. The Earl was a Catholic, far from a bigotted one, having stiffly opposed the Pope's Nuncio in Ireland, and treating the Monks with

* It is also mentioned in Sir James Ware's works, Vol. 2, page 202.

very little ceremony when he found them dabbling in sedititon.

He himself had been a commander in the Irish Rebellion for the confederate catholics, but afterwards made all the amends he could to the King's cause, serving under the Marquises of Ormond and Clanricard. A little before the ruin of the latter, Lord Castlehaven was dispatched by him to the young King at Paris, whose service when he found desperate, he engaged with the great Prince of Condé, then in rebellion; attended that hero in most of his celebrated actions; returned to England on the restoration; entered into the Spanish service in Flanders; was witness to the unsuccessful dawn of King William's glory; and died in 1684.

The Earl had been much censured for his share in the Irish Rebellion, and wrote the memoirs to explain his conduct rather than to excuse it; for he freely confesses his faults, and imputes them to provocations from the government of that kingdom, to whose rashness and cruelty, conjointly with the votes and resolutions of the English parliament, he ascribes the massacre. There are no dates, little method, and less style in these memoirs; defects atoned for in some measure by a martial honesty. Soon after their publication the Earl of Anglesey, lord privy seal, wrote to ask a copy: * Lord

* See Postscript to the Memoirs.

Castlehaven sent him one, but denying the work as his. Anglesey, who had been a commissioner in Ireland for the parliament, thinking himself affected by this narrative, published Castlehaven's letter, with observations and reflexions very abusive on the Duke of Ormond, which occasioned, first a printed controversy, and then a trial before the privy-council: the event of which was, that Anglesey's letter was voted a scandalous libel, and himself removed from the custody of the privy-seal; and that the Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs, on which he was several times examined, and which he owned, were declared a scandalous libel on the government; a censure that seems very little founded: there is not a word that can authorize that sentence from the council of Charles the second, but the imputation on the lords justices of Charles the first; for I suppose the privy-council did not pique themselves on vindicating the honour of the republican parliament! Bishop Morley wrote "a true account of the proceedings betwixt James Duke of Ormond and Arthur Earl of Anglesey." Folio.



TO THE
K I N G.

SIR,

I lay at your Majesties feet these my Memoirs; and if your time may permit that you will read them, they are contracted in so little a Volume the more to invite you to it,

I am persuaded that your Majesty will find amongst them, some thing new, though many years past. The Stile is plain and simple; otherwise it could not be mine. But the Truth may make

amends: For I pass them on my Word
not to contain a Lie, or Mistake, to my
Knowledge.

Your Majestys

most faithful Subject,

and dutiful Servant,

CASTLEHAVEN AUDLEY.

TO THE

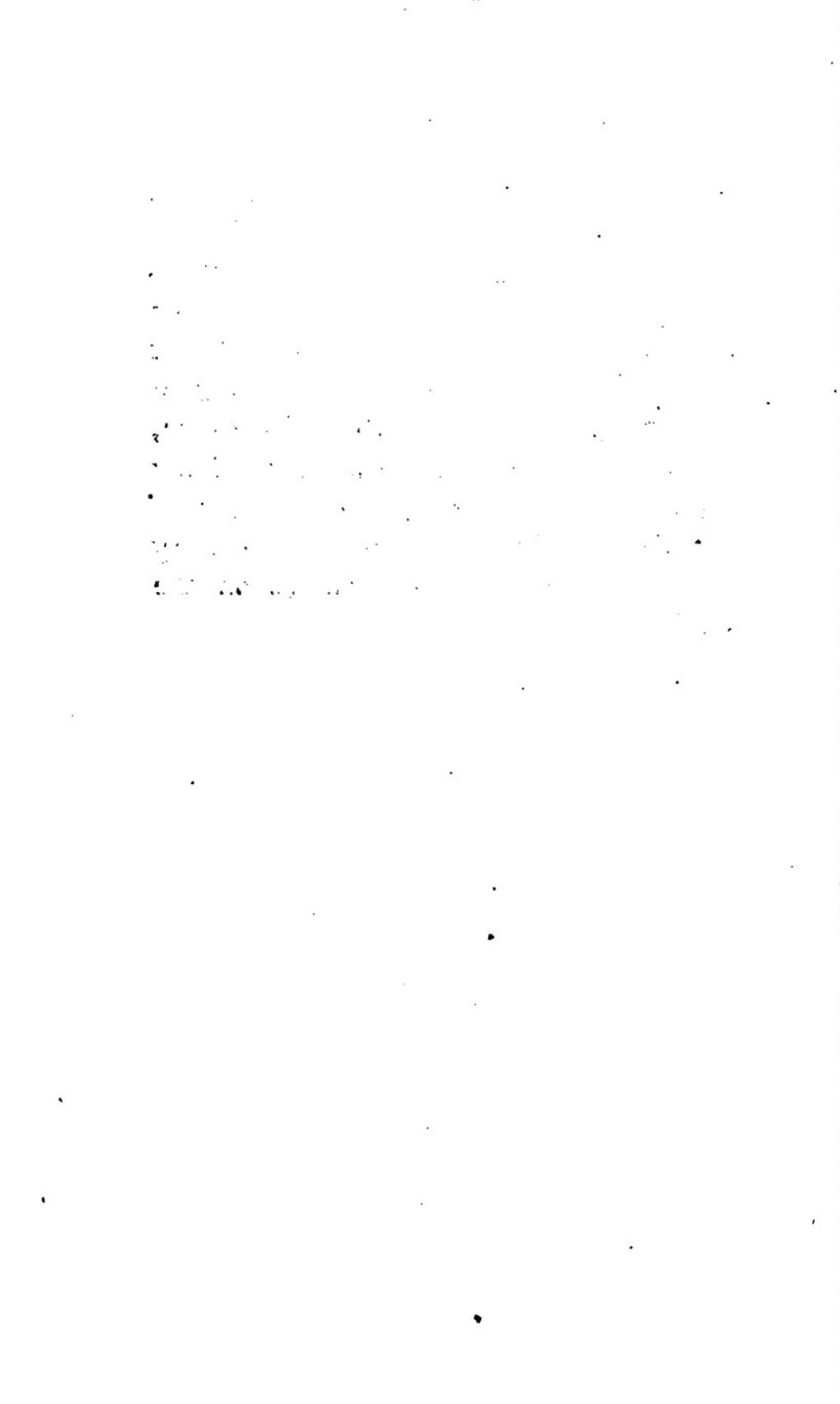
READER.

I Being one day in S. Pauls Church-yard, amongst the Stationers, some Books fell into my hands lately set forth : Histories of the Rebellion begun in Ireland, in the year 1641, with the Wars and Transactions that followed on that occasion ; and finding my self in many places cited, acting as a confederate Catholick, which in plain English is as a Rebel, I thought fit to publish something, setting forth my own story (not to excuse the Rebellion, or those who were forced into it, as I was, it having begun most bloodily on the English in that Kingdom, in a time of settled peace, without the least occasion given) ; but what I write is chiefly to draw from the world some compas-

sion, my case being singular, as I hope the Memoires will make out. I take God to witness, I never had the least hint of the Rebellion, till being one night at Supper with my Lord of Kerry, at his house in that County ; his Lordship being a Privy-Counsellour, shewed me a Letter which he then received from the Justices, setting forth the attempt on the Castle of Dublin, and the Rebellion in the North, from whence sprung that unjustifiable War, in which I was unfortunately engaged : But on my repentance, pursued by my actings to bring on the first Cessation, and the Peace of 1646, I had many testimonies from the late King of blessed memory, and his Lieutenant, the now Duke of Ormond, that my faults were forgiven me. Since I have always pursued my duty in faithfully serving the King ; and after his death, his Majesty that now reigns : for which, though most unworthy, I have received many marks of his favour ; and since his happy Restauration, (for my better security) hath given me his gracious Pardon ; by virtue of which,

I have sate in the Parliament of Ireland,
as being a Peer of that Kingdom.

The Appendix I promised, in short representing the state of Ireland, is grown into such a bulk, that it comes out a Book by it self; so that in its place, by way of Appendix, I give you what I have seen, and that came within the compass of my knowledge of Wars abroad, I being of the Armies, though not present on every occasion; also some Observations on the whole.



THE
EARL OF CASTLEHAVEN'S
MEMOIRS,

OR HIS
Review of the Irish Wars, &c.



OF all the practices used of late to involve the nation in a general combustion, and once more to set us all together by the ears, as nothing is more unchristian, so none can be of more dangerous consequence to the public, than the people's rubbing up old sores, and reproaching one another (when they promise to reform, and become peaceable subjects) with their past crimes, or with the names of parties and factions, to keep the breach still on foot. It has always been so destructive of the peace and quiet of all commonwealths, that there can be no hopes of a lasting settlement, while this animosity continues. Hence it was that immediately upon his Majesty's most happy restoration it was thought of absolute necessity by the representative

wisdom of the nation, by king, lords and commons, to pass an act of oblivion of all crimes till then committed; and by certain penalties to stop the people's mouths from using any words of reproach, tending to revive the memory of their past calamities. But such is the licentiousness of this libelling age, and so great is the malice, and so prodigious the impudence of some wicked men, whose charity extends no further than their interest; that while themselves are the greatest criminals, they exclaim against others, as unworthy to live. Of this we have several instances in divers books and pamphlets, by them published these forty years past, and some with no good design, reprinted since these last troublesome times. But they have exceeded all others, and out-done even themselves, in the tragical stories they give us of the Irish insurrection in the year 1641, which they have so strangely misrepresented to the world, and, with such fictions and invectives, traduced the whole nation, that, wherever they are believed, an Irishman can pass for no other than a monster in nature.

'Tis true, the Irish insurrection can never be justified, and had they alone been concerned in such crimes, it were very reasonable and just (if prudence as well as charity did not oblige us to forget and forgive) to have them exposed to the world, and set forth in the blackest colours: but when their neighbour-nations were at least equally criminal, 'tis no more equity in any man to rail against them in particular, than 'tis prudence in a magistrate to shut up only one house when the plague is universal.

I must aver, I little expected to have any occasion this time of the day, to speak or write any thing on this subject, when I hoped all was forgiven,

and happily buried in oblivion. But finding myself mentioned afresh, not without some new aggravations, by these worthy authors of slander and lies, as having had a part in the Irish rebellion; though, lest they should do me some justice, they are not pleased to tell how I have been used before I was brought to it, nor how I carried myself while of that party, nor yet what I have since done to expiate my offence, by serving with all possible zeal and fidelity the late and present king ever since the peace there concluded in 1646, I find myself under a necessity to say something in my own defence, by setting forth the truth of my story, in as brief and plain a method as possible, to obviate the false and malicious calumnies of these forging scribblers.

But before I go farther, I must desire the reader to make some difference between the first beginners of the rebellion, and those that afterwards carried on the war under the title of "The confederate Catholics of Ireland." And to shew what ground there is for this distinction, I shall here give a short account of the rise and progress of that insurrection, and begin with my conceptions of the motives and inducements, the Lord Mac-Guire, Sir Phelim O'Neil, and others, their accomplices, had to enter into that wicked conspiracy.

After the Scots had rebelled against the king in the year 1638, though they soon laid down their arms on the pacification at Berwick, where I was, yet the fire was but smothered for that time, not altogether extinguished. For in the year 1640, it broke out with greater violence than before, when they invaded England, fought and beat the king's troops at Newburn, and advancing, took Newcastle.

On this alarm the king came to York, where he assembled his great council of all the peers of the kingdom, amongst whom I was one; and by their advice the treaty at Rippon was set on foot, where a suspension of arms was concluded with the Scots, on condition to pay them above £25000 per month, to the great discredit of the English nation. All this time the king was importuned with petitions from most counties of England, for a speedy parliament; to which his majesty agreed: and having dissolved his great council of peers, he ordered that unfortunate parliament to be summoned, which met at Westminster, the third of November following.

Great was the people's expectation concerning the resolutions of this new parliament; having in about twelve years before seen none, but that short one of April preceding, which, lasting but two and twenty days, spent for the most part in idle preliminaries and declamatory harangues, came not to any issue touching the public affairs of the nation. The king, at the opening of this session, set forth how the Scots, without any cause or provocation, came in an horrible manner armed into England, were then gnawing the bowels of the kingdom, and like so to continue, unless speedily prevented by his and their joint concurrence. In order therefore to reduce these gentlemen, he gives both houses all possible assurance of his readiness to concur with them in any thing they could find effectual for settling the peace and redressing the real grievances of his subjects. But this, and many other such gracious concessions, served only to increase the flame among the factions, who now, instead of voting the Scotch army, rebels and traitors, not only stiled them dear brethren, but bestowed on them £300000 for

their kindness, and voted Mr. Gervase Holles to be expelled the house, for saying upon their debate, how this money should be paid, “that the best way of paying them was by arms to expel them out of the kingdom.” Neither was this all. The Scots are no more caressed on the one hand, than the king’s ministers and friends are run down on the other: and the more the good king gave way to their madness, and yielded to their most unreasonable demands in hopes they would at last become sober, and mind their duty, the more insolent and imperious still they grew; as if nothing but the total subversion of the government could in any measure satisfy their ambition: which, though they carried smoothly for some time, till they had got themselves first made triennial, and at last perpetual dictators; and, by sending the bishops to the tower, had robbed their prince of twenty-six votes at once, and of a great deal more by passing the bill of attainder; yet nothing was more visible in all their proceedings, than their ill designs against the monarchy, and thereupon the approach of a sudden rupture between the king and the factious part of both houses.

The Lord Mac-Guire, Sir Phelim O’Neil, and others of the Irish nation, dissatisfied with their own condition, and consequently weary of the government there, thought this conjuncture very seasonable for their purpose: and like the ass in the apologue (who, by imitating the fawning dog, expected to get into his master’s favour, but was soundly bastinadoed for his folly) doubted not but by taking the like method, they should fare no worse than the Scots, in the redress of their grievances. And therefore that they should not lose the advantage of so fair an opportunity; they quickly put their heads together, and concluded that on the 23d of October 1641, they should

surprise the Castle of Dublin, the chief magazine of the kingdom: and upon their good success in that attempt, endeavour to take in the rest. But providence timely discovered this wicked conspiracy, and the plotters fell into the pit themselves digged for others: Mac-Guire and Mac-Mahon were taken, and being sent into England, were executed at Tyburn, and the rest forced to retire into woods and mountains to save themselves from the hands of justice.

Now the Irish offered me, while I was among them, several reasons (besides these mentioned) why they would at this time enter into such a horrid combination against their natural sovereign. But these following, I think, are the most considerable.

First, they observed, that by the governors of that kingdom they were generally looked upon as a conquered nation, seldom or never treated like natural or free-born subjects: and for their further excuse, said besides, that a discontented people, while thus used, are very apt to think they are no longer obliged, than they are forced, to obedience; but may, by the same way they had lost, when able, regain their liberty.

Secondly, it grieved them extremely, that on the account of Tyrone's rebellion, as they said, six whole counties in Ulster were in a lump escheated to the crown, and little or nothing restored to the natives, though several of them never joined with Tyrone, but a great part bestowed by king James on his countrymen.

Thirdly, it did not a little heighten their discontent, that in the Earl of Strafford's time, there was a great noise of entitling the crown to the counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, and Cork, with some parts of Tipperary, Limerick, Wicklow and others: and, they averred, and experience tells us,

where the people's property is like to be invaded, neither religion nor loyalty is able to keep them within bounds, if they find themselves in a condition to make any considerable opposition; and so brought in the saying of those resolute ambassadors of the Privernates, who, though reduced to such a very low condition, that they came to beg peace of the senate of Rome, yet being asked what peace should the Romans expect from them that had broke it so often? They boldly answered (which made the senate accept of their proposals) "if a good one, it shall be faithful and lasting; but, if bad, it shall not hold very long. For think not, said they, that any people, or even any man, will in that condition, whereof they are weary, continue any longer than of necessity they must." Liv. lib. 8.

Fourthly, they found that since the sitting of this parliament, great severities were used against the Roman Catholics in England, and both houses solicited by several petitions out of Ireland, to have those of that kingdom treated with the like rigour, which to a people so fond of their religion as the Irish, was no small inducement to make them, while there was an opportunity offered, to stand upon their guard.

Fifthly, they saw the Scots by pretending grievances, and taking up arms to get them redressed, had not only gained, divers privileges and immunities, but got £.300000 for their visit, besides £.850 a day for several months together. And this precedent encouraged the Irish so much at that time, that they offered it to Owen O'Conally who discovered the design, as their chief motive of rising then in rebellion; which said he, * "They engaged

* O'Conally's exam. Octob. 22. 1641. Borlace's history of the Irish rebellion, page 21.

“ in to be rid of the tyrannical government that
“ was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who by
“ that course had enlarged their privileges.”

Lastly, they foresaw the storm draw on, and such misunderstandings daily arise between the king and parliament, as portended no less than a sudden rupture between them, which made these malecontents believe the king, thus engaged, partly at home, and partly with the Scots, could not be able to suppress them so far off; and therefore, rather than hold out, would grant them any thing they could in reason demand, at least more than otherwise they could expect.

Much to this purpose Mr. Howel writ of the original of the rebellion, in his Mercurius Hibernicus, in the year 1648, whose words, because an impartial author, and a known protestant, I will here transcribe, in confirmation of what I have said, and for the reader’s further satisfaction.

“ The Irish hearing, (saith he,) how well their
“ next neighbours had sped, by way of arms, it
“ filled them full of thoughts and apprehensions, of
“ fear and jealousy, that the Scot (than whom
“ no nation upon earth is in that perfection, and
“ with greater antipathy hated by the Irish) would
“ prove more powerful hereby, and consequently
“ more able to do them hurt, and to attempt ways
“ to restrain them of that connivance which they
“ were allowed in point of religion. Moreover they
“ entered into consideration, that they also had sun-
“ dry grievances, and grounds of complaint, both
“ touching their estates and consciences, which
“ they pretended to be far greater than those of
“ the Scots. For they fell to think, that if the
“ Scot was suffered to introduce a new religion,
“ it was reason they should not be punished in the
“ exercise of their old, which they glory never to

" have altered. And for temporal matters, where-
 " in the Scot had no grievance at all to speak
 " of; the new plantations, which had been lately
 " a foot, to be made in Connaught, and other
 " places; the concealed lands and defective titles,
 " which were daily found out; the new customs
 " which were imposed; and, the incapacity they
 " had to any preferment or office in church and
 " state, with other things they conceived to be
 " grievances of a far greater nature, and that de-
 " served redress much more than any the Scot had.
 " To this end they sent over commissioners to
 " attend this parliament in England with certain
 " propositions; but they were dismissed hence,
 " with a short and unsavoury answer; which bred
 " worse blood in the nation than was formerly
 " gathered: and this, with that leading case of the
 " Scot, may be said to be the first incitements
 " that made them rise.

" Secondly, In the course of human actions, we
 " daily find a true rule, *exempla movent*, exam-
 " ples move and make a strong impression upon
 " the fancy; precepts are not so powerful as pre-
 " cedents. The said example of Scotland wrought
 " so wonderfully upon the imagination of the Irish,
 " and filled them (as I touched before) with thoughts
 " of emulation; that they deserved altogether to
 " have as good usage as the Scot; their country
 " being far more beneficial, and consequently,
 " more importing the English nation. But these
 " were but confused, imperfect notions, which
 " began to receive more vigor and form after the
 " death of the Earl of Strafford, who kept them
 " under so exact an obedience, though some cen-
 " sured him to have screwed up the strings of the
 " harp too high; that the taking off of that Earl's

" head may be said to be the second incitement
" to the head of that insurrection to stir.

" Thirdly, Add hereunto, that the Irish under-
" standing with what acrimony the Roman Ca-
" tholics in England were proceeded against, since
" the sitting of our parliament, and what further
" designs were on foot against them, and not only
" against them, but for reversing the protes-
" tant religion, which some shallow-brained schis-
" maticks throw into the same scales with popery ;
" they thought it was high time for them to fore-
" cast what should become of them, and how they
" should be handled in point of conscience, when
" a new deputy of the parliament's election (appro-
" bation at least) should come over. Therefore, they
" fell to consult of some means of timely prevention :
" and this was another motive (and it was a shrewd
" one) which pushed on the Irish to take up arms.

" Lastly, That army of 8000 men, which the
" Earl of Strafford had raised to be transported into
" England, for suppressing the Scot, being by the
" advice of our parliament here disbanded, the
" country was annoyed by some of those straggling
" soldiers, as not one in twenty of the Irish will go
" from the sword to the spade, or from the pike to
" the plow again. Therefore, the two Marquesses
" that were ambassadors here (then) from Spain,
" having propounded to have some numbers of those
" disbanded forces, for the service of their master ;
" his majesty, by the mature advice of his privy
" council, to prevent the mischiefs that might arise
" to his kingdom of Ireland, by those loose cash-
" iered soldiers, yielded to the ambassadors motion,
" who sent notice thereof to Spain accordingly, and
" so provided shipping for their transport, and im-
" pressed money to advance the business ; but as

" they were in the height of that work (his majesty
 " being then in Scotland) there was a sudden stop
 " made of those promised troops, who had de-
 " pended long on the Spaniard's service, as the
 " Spaniards had done on theirs. And this was the
 " last, though not the least, fatal cause of that hur-
 " ried insurrection : all which particulars, well con-
 " sidered, it had been no hard matter to have been
 " a prophet, and standing upon the top of Holy
 " Head, to have foreseen those black clouds, in-
 " gendering in the Irish air, which broke out
 " afterwards into such fearful tempests of blood.
 " Out of these premises, it is easy for any com-
 " mon understanding, not transported with passion
 " and private interest, to draw this conclusion :
 " that they who complied with the Scot in his
 " insurrection ; they who dismissed the Irish com-
 " missioners with such a short unpolitick answer ;
 " they who took off the Earl of Strafford's head,
 " and afterwards delayed the dispatching of the
 " Earl of Leicester ; they who hindered those dis-
 " banded troops in Ireland to go for Spain, may be
 " justly said to have been the true causes of the
 " late insurrection of the Irish."

Thus concludes this learned and ingenious gentleman, who, as being then his majesty's historiographer, was as likely as any man to know the transactions of those times, and as an Englishman and a loyal protestant, was beyond all exception of partiality or favour of the papists of Ireland ; and therefore could have no other reason, but the love of truth and justice, to give this account of the Irish rebellion, or make the Scotch, and their wicked brethren in the parliament of England, the main occasion of that horrid insurrection. Neither was this the single opinion of Mr. Howel, but the common sentiment of all honest and knowing men,

confirmed even by the dying words of our royal martyr, in the twelfth chapter of his Eikon Basilike, where he saith, “ Certainly it is thought by many “ wise men, that the preposterous rigor and un-“ reasonable severity, which some men carried “ before them in England, was not the least in-“ centive that kindled and blew up into those hor-“ rid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted “ not pre-disposed fuel for rebellion in Ireland; “ where despair being added to their former dis-“ contents, and the fears of utter extirpation to “ their wonted oppressions, it was easy to provoke “ to an open rebellion, a people prone enough to “ break out to all exorbitant violence, both by “ some principles of their religion, and the natural “ desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from “ their present restraint, and to prevent those after-“ rigors, wherewith they saw themselves appa-“ rently threatened by the coveteous zeal, and “ uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a “ great argument of the truth of their religion, to “ endure no other but their own.” And again; “ I “ believe, it will at last appear, that they who “ first began to embroil my other kingdoms, “ are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting “ out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid “ effusions of blood in Ireland.”

’Tis plain, therefore, (though other motives were not wanting to render many of that nation ill affected to the government and prepare them for violence) the unexpected success of the Scots and daily misunderstandings between the king and the parliament in England, gave at this time birth and life to the Irish rebellion: for I must confess I myself am now, as I have been long since, upon serious reflections, abundantly convinced, that however the circumstances of this time gave life

and birth to that rebellion of Ireland; yet the design of it had been laid partly at home, but chiefly abroad in foreign parts, even several years before the troubles either of England or Scotland began. And that the original, true and great motive indeed thereof, was no other than that fatal one, which for so many hundred years from Henry II. to the beginning of king James's reign, had been not only the very source of all the dangerous rebellions of that country, but the very bane and ruin of its people on all sides for so many ages. The national feud, I mean, betwixt the mere Irish (as the ancient Milesians are called) and later Irish, or colonies of English extraction among them: and the unalterable persuasion of the former, that the English conquest of that country, was but mere usurpation, without any just title: and that the right both to the supream sovereignty, and proprietorship too, of all the lands of Ireland, still remained, according to the ancient Brehon laws of that country, (which say they, had never been legally repealed or antiquated, and consequently also according to the laws of God) in the surviving heirs of the more ancient natives, the Milesians. It is true that forty years continual and flourishing peace in all obedience to the English laws there, from the last of queen Elisabeth to 1641, seemed to carry a fair outside, as if all those national former animosities and pretences had been utterly extinguished. But alas! the old leaven still fermented inwardly of one side; and among that side, the fire was but covered under hot embers. The Earls of Tyrone and Tirconel, and the councils of Spain and Rome, and the Irish monasteries and seminaries, in so many countries of Europe, and very many of the churchmen returning home out of them, and chiefly the titular bishops, together with the superiors of re-

gular orders, took an effectual course, under the specious colour of religion, to add continually new fuel to the burning coals, and prepare them for a flame on the first opportunity; which, whoever did not see in the beginning of this rebellion (as many did not) by observing what extraction, or what names all the first appearers in it were of: and how, particularly, of the whole hundred that were designed for seizing the castle of Dublin, there was not so much as one person of British blood, extraction or name among them: might nevertheless, and without the help of any multiplying glass, most clearly see it in the procedure of the war. Certainly it is my opinion, First, That whole and great, and most numerous parties, exclaiming every where, both at home (in Ireland) and abroad in other countries, against the very first cessation concluded with the king's lieutenant, the Marquess of Ormond: and in foreign courts representing those confederates that concluded it, not only as falsely assuming the name of Irishmen, but as really favouring the schism and heresies of England. Secondly, Their forcing after, at the end of three years more, both the representatives and whole body of the Irish confederates, to reject so scandalously and perfidiously, as they did the peace of 1646. Thirdly, Their opposing so long, and in such manner as they had done, the peace of 1648, 'till it was too late to retrieve it, or submit to it; were such arguments, as upon serious reflection, might convince any unbyassed person, what the primary grand design, and original source of that rebellion was; and also, what also the natural end of it must have been, if success had answered the expectation of the great contrivers, in their plot for seizing the chief magazine of the kingdom, the castle of Dublin.

And yet, I must withal acknowledge, there has been from the very beginning of the rebellion, a considerable number of those very ancient Milesians, that upon all occasions, sided still with such other confederate catholicks, as endeavoured all they could to bring back the whole nation to their former obedience, to the king and his laws. In that number the Lord Viscount Muskry (after Earl of Clancarty) with his whole party, the O Callaghans, and some other gentlemen thereof (men of note in Mounster) were eminent. To whom (after the Nuncio's excommunication, published against those that obeyed the cessation of arms, concluded with the Lord of Inchiquin) many others also of the said Milesians, in other provinces, joined themselves, in order to the peace of 1648, and consequently, their return to the king. Among these, besides the Lord of Iveagh, Alexander Mac-Donel, and others, even that unfortunate gentleman, Sir Phelim O Neil himself, was one; though after all, I must likewise acknowledge, that because the far greater number of the Milesians, at least the stronger party of them was on the other side; their wilful obstinacy rendered at long run all the endeavours and returns of honest men wholly unsignificant and fruitless, whether to the king or themselves, or to defend their country from being utterly subdued, at the end of three years more, by the parliament forces.

But if anyper adventure think otherwise, either of the different inclinations and endeavours of those parties, among the more antient Irish themselves, or of that very original design, and source of the rebellion, which I have nakedly given, according to my own later thoughts of both; yet forasmuch as I put here no stress at all on such matters, I pass

them over ; and only at present aver, that whatever the primary grand design, whatever the source of this rebellion was, or might have been, it is notwithstanding, in all appearance, beyond dispute, that, (as I have said before) the unexpected success of the Scots, and the daily misunderstandings between the king and the parliament in England, was, that which gave it birth and life at this time, viz. on the 23rd of October, 1641. As for the massacre that ensued, it was certainly very barbarous and inhumane, though I cannot believe, the tenth part of the British natives (reported by Sir John Temple and others of the same kidney, to have been murdered by the Irish) lived then in that kingdom, out of cities and walled towns, where no such massacre was committed. I am certain in Sir John Temple's muster-rolls, of whom the subsequent scribblers borrowed all their catalogues, there are not 50000 persons to be found, though it is manifest, that in divers places, he repeats the same people and with the same circumstances twice or thrice over, and mentions hundreds, as then murdered, that lived many years after; nay, some even this day alive. Nevertheless, it is very certain, that there have been great cruelties committed upon the English, though I believe not the twentieth part of what is generally reported. But the truth is, they were very bloody on both sides, and though some will throw all upon the Irish, yet 'tis well known who they were that used to give orders to their parties, sent into enemies quarters, to spare neither man, woman, nor child. And the leading men among the Irish, have this to say for themselves, That they were all along so far from favouring any of the murderers, that not only by their agents (soon after the king's restoration)

but even in their * remonstrance, presented by the Lord Viscount Gormanstown and Sir Robert Talbot on the 17th of March 1642, the nobility and gentry of the nation desired, That the murders on both sides committed, should be strictly examined, and the authors of them punished according to the utmost severity of the law. Which proposal, certainly their adversaries could never have rejected, but that they were conscious to themselves of being deeper in the mire, than they would have the world believe.

This is plain matter of fact, and the consequence of it so obvious, that, notwithstanding all the groundless clamours of some, who loudly cry out against the Irish, but speak not a word of their own rebellion, I must do that kingdom so much justice, as to declare, that I can no more believe, the leading part of the nation, did ever design, much less encourage, the barbarous cruelties there committed, than I can be persuaded, that the lords and commons, who first made war against the late king in England, did from the beginning intend to imbrue their hands in his sacred blood. Yet still I think them inexcusable, because I see no great difference, whether a man kills another himself, or unchains a fierce mastiff, that will tear him to pieces. I cannot therefore but believe, the contrivers and abettors of the Irish rebellion, guilty of the massacre that ensued, tho' committed by the rude rabble; no less than those that raised the late rebellion in England, as guilty of their prince's blood, as if they had actually been regicides: tho' the army on the one hand, and the rabble on the other, did the work, which their first movers, who unchain-

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* Borlase's history, page 58.

ed them from their obedience to the laws, were not able to hinder.

As for the generality of the nation, whatever the northern rebels gave out to the contrary, to encourage their party, and induce others to join with them; 'tis manifest, they knew nothing of the design before, nor favoured it after it was discovered; as appears by their solemn protestation in parliament on November 16, 1641, when meeting, according to their prorogation, in the castle of Dublin, and this rebellion being laid before them by the lords justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace, in order (as they said) to find out some effectual means to reduce the rebels and bring them to justice; both houses immediately declared their abhorrence to the rebellion, and agreed *zemine contradicente* to the following protestation.

" * Whereas the happy and peaceable state of " this realm, hath been of late, and is still inter-
 " rupted by sundry persons ill-affected to the
 " peace and tranquility thereof; who contrary
 " to their duty, and loyalty to his majesty, and
 " against the laws of God, and the fundamental
 " laws of this realm, have traiterously and rebel-
 " liously raised arms, seized upon his majesty's
 " forts and castles, and dispossessed many of his
 " faithful subjects, of their houses, lands and
 " goods, and have slain many of them, and com-
 " mitted other cruel and inhuman outrages and
 " acts of hostility within this realm: the said lords
 " and commons in parliament assembled, being
 " justly moved with a right sense of the said dis-
 " loyal and rebellious proceedings and actions of
 " the persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and

" declare, that the said lords and commons, from
" their hearts, do detest and abhor the said abomi-
" nable actions, and that they shall, and will to
" their utmost power, maintain the right of his
" majesty's crown and government of this realm,
" and the peace and safety thereof, as well against
" the persons aforesaid, their abettors and adhe-
" rents, as also, against all foreign princes, poten-
" tates, and other persons and attempts whatsoever:
" and in case the persons do not repent of their
" aforesaid actions, lay down arms, and become
" humble suitors to his majesty for grace and
" mercy, in such convenient time, and in such
" manner and form, as by his majesty, or the
" chief governor or governors, and the council
" of this realm, shall be set down: the lords and
" commons do further protest and declare, that
" they will take up arms, and will, with their
" lives and fortunes, suppress them in their at-
" tempts, in such a way, as by the authority of
" the parliament of this kingdom, with the appro-
" bation of his most excellent majesty, or his ma-
" jesty's chief governor or governors of this king-
" dom, shall be thought most effectual."

Thus both houses of parliament (the true representative of the nation's loyalty) unanimously declared their readiness to prosecute and suppress the rebels, and in order to bring them speedily to condign punishment: having with all possible zeal and alacrity, offered their lives and fortunes to the lords justices; they fell immediately to consider of the most effectual means to do the work. But this way of proceeding did not, it seems, square with the lords justices designs, who were often heard to say, That the more were in rebellion; the more lands should be forfeit to them; and therefore, in the very heat of the business, they

resolved upon a prorogation; which the parliament understanding, the lord viscount Castelroe and myself, were sent from the lords house, and others from the commons, to the lords justices, to desire the continuance of the parliament, at least till the rebels (then few in number) were reduced: But our address was slighted, and the parliament the next day prorogued, to the great surprise of both houses, and the general dislike of all honest and knowing men.

This encouraged the rebels, and vastly increased their numbers in divers places of the kingdom. Freedom of rapine and murder drew such numbers of men together, that the few desperate malecontents, who began the tragedy, in a short time became a formidable army, and were at length so bold as to besiege Drogheda, about twenty miles from Dublin; to the succour of which Major Roper, marching with 7 or 800 men, was in a great mist (near Gillianstown) set upon by the rebels and defeated; whereupon they forced the country round about (as the Scots the year before did the northern parts of England) to a weekly contribution, for the payment of their army, which afterwards was, by the lords justices, made a great crime; (though in the north of England, the like was thought none by the king,) as if the contribution favoured and encouraged the rebellion.

The members of parliament in this disorder retired to their several habitations in the country; so did I to mine, but had not been long at home, when I received a letter signed by the Viscounts of Gormanstown and Nettervil, and by the Barons of Slane, Lowth and Dunsany, with one enclosed to the lords justices, which these noblemen desired me to send, and if possible, to get their lordships answer. The letter was very humble and sub-

missive, desiring only they might have permission to send their petitions into England, to represent their grievances to the king: wherefore I sent it inclosed to the lords justices, who were silent as to theirs, yet answered mine, though little more than a covert, in which they said, These Lords were rebels and traitors, and advised me to receive no more letters from them. I readily submitted, nor do I know to this hour, how that letter came to my hands.

All this while parties were sent out by the lords justices and council from Dublin, and most garrisons throughout the kingdom, to kill and destroy the rebels; but the officers and soldiers took little or no care to distinguish between rebels and subjects, but killed in many places promiscuously men, women and children; which procedure not only exasperated the rebels, and induced them to commit the like cruelties upon the English, but frightened the nobility and gentry round about, who, seeing the harmless country people, without respect to age or sex, thus barbarously murdered, and themselves openly threatened as favourers of the rebellion, for paying the contribution they could not possibly refuse, they resolved to stand upon their guard. Nevertheless, before they would attempt any thing against the government, they sought several ways to get their petitions conveyed to the king, and at length prevailed with Sir John Read, a Scotchman, and one of his majesty's servants, (then going for England) to undertake it; who coming to the Marquess of Ormond, upon his march towards Drogheda, was (on what suspicion I know not) by him sent to the lords justices to Dublin, and not concealing what he carried, by them imprisoned, and soon after put to the rack. Much about this time was the like done

to Patrick Barnwell of Kilbrew, a man of 68 years of age, but upon what account I cannot tell; only have been told, his crime was, that he came in upon the lords justices proclamation of pardon to those of the Pale, that would in ten days submit themselves; and was so wise as not to consider, that * free-holders (as being more criminal than the rest, because of their estates) were by the lords justices, expressly excepted out of that proclamation. As to Read, several questions were put to him, and among the rest, he was much pressed to tell, how far the late king and queen were privy to, or concerned in the Irish rebellion: This is notoriously known; but I have it more particularly from my brother Col. Mervin Touchett, who heard it from Sir John Read himself, as he was brought out of the room where he was racked.

This did not a little inflame the reckoning, and it was a great addition to their discontent, that the king referred the whole business of Ireland (whereby they thought he deserted the protection of his people) to the parliament of England, who thereupon passed such wild votes and ordinances, as tended to the utter extirpation of the natives of that kingdom; not only declaring on Dec. 8, 1641, that they would never give consent to any toleration of the † popish religion in Ireland, or in any other his majesty's dominions; but enacting further in February following, when few, of any considerable fortune or estate, were concerned in the rebellion; that two millions, and five hundred thousand acres of profitable land in Ireland, besides bogs, woods and barren mountains, should be assigned to adventurers for small proportions of money (which was

* Borlase's history, pag. 30.

† pag. 34.

afterwards employed to raise armies against the king in England) to reduce the rebels of that kingdom. But the greatest discontent of all, was about the lords justices proroguing the parliament (the only way the nation had to express their loyalty, and prevent their being misrepresented to their sovereign) which, had it been permitted to sit for any reasonable time, would, in all likelihood, without any great charge or trouble, have brought the rebels to justice: For the war that afterwards ensued, was headed and carried on principally by members that then sat in parliament. And to say these members were all along concerned in the rebellion, or engaged with the first contrivers of it, is to make them, not only the greatest knaves but the veryest fools on earth, since otherwise they could not have been so earnest for the continuance of the parliament, whilst sitting in the castle, and under the lords justices guards, who upon the least intelligence, which could not long be wanting, had no more to do but to shut the gates, and make them all prisoners, without any possibility of escape, or hopes of redemption.

Thus the contagion spread itself by degrees over the whole kingdom, and now there's no more looking back, for all were in arms, and full of indignation; there was fighting almost in every corner, and very unfortunately for me, one encounter happened in the sight of my house, at Maddingstown, between the Marquess of Ormond, commanding the English, and, the Lord Viscount Mountgarret, the Irish forces, where the latter was defeated. This encounter goes by the name of the battle of Kilrush, fought the 15th of April 1642. The English were not above 3000 men strong, but were bold and expert troops, well officered, with some commons; the Irish were more in number,

but ill armed, and but newly formed into bodies.

After this defeat my Lord of Ormond being to pass with his army just by my gates ; some of his officers of my acquaintance came galloping before, assuring me his lordship would be with me in half an hour. Hereupon I bestirred myself, and having two or three cooks, a good barn-door, and plenty of wines (for besides my own family, I had with me the Dutchess of Buckingham, the Marquess of Antrim, her husband, and the lady Ross, Mr. Daniel his sister) we patched up a dinner ready to be set upon the table at my Lord's coming in ; but some that came with him turned this another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and published through the army, that it was a mighty feast, prepared for my Lord Mountgarrett and the rebels. This, thro' the English army, passed for current, and I believe did me no small prejudice with the lords justices, as shall appear in the sequel of my story, which I shall now pursue with a letter I received from my brother, Col. Mervin Touchett upon this occasion.

" Hearing your Lordship is now writing some-
 " what again of your concerns in Ireland, during
 " the late war : tho' I, as one that was with you
 " there in the beginning of the troubles, and
 " therefore possibly might remind you of some
 " passages more in my knowledge than yours,
 " have before written to you on that subject ; yet
 " now remembering some things I had then omitted,
 " I add them here.

" When the rebellion broke forth in the North,
 " you were in Mounster ; and on the news, you im-
 " mediately repaired to Dublin, to the lords justi-
 " ces, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace,
 " where you acquainted them with your willing-

"ness to serve the king against the rebels, as
 "your ancestors had formerly done in Ireland,
 "on the like occasions: to which they replied,
 "your religion was an obstacle. There being
 "then a parliament in that kingdom sitting, you
 "were resolved to see the event, sending me to
 "your house at Maddingstown, in the county of
 "Kildare, to secure and defend it, in case there
 "were any rising in those parts. Upon my coming,
 "I found many poor English stripped, whom I took
 "into the house and relieved, defending them in
 "the best manner I could. Some time after the
 "parliament being dissolved, you desired of the
 "justices a pass to go for England: but they re-
 "fusing, you acquainted them, that your estate
 "there was not in a condition to maintain you
 "in Dublin; and desired that you might be sup-
 "plied with some money for your subsistence, un-
 "til such time as you could apply yourself to the
 "parliament in England for a pass to bring you
 "over; which they denied. You pressed them
 "then to direct you what course you should steer;
 "to which they replied: go home and make fair
 "weather. You took this advice, and being
 "come, my Lord of Antrim and my lady Dutch-
 "ess of Buckingham, soon followed; and you
 "were very well pleased with so good company to
 "spend your provisions. But in a short time, the
 "Irish came and drove away a great part of your
 "stock to a village near. It being night, you
 "desired me to take your servants, and endeavour
 "the recovery; which I did, bringing with me
 "two or three of the chiefest conductors of this
 "rabble. This enraged the Irish so much, that
 "you conceived I was not safe there; and there-
 "fore sent me to Dublin, to attend the justices
 "orders, and assure them of your readiness to

" return on a call, they sending a convoy, which
 " they promised to do as occasion required. When
 " I went from you, you thought it necessary that
 " I should take with me, all the poor English that
 " were saved; and to let them go with the carts,
 " which were loaden with wool for Dublin; leav-
 " ing only one of them, who was a sadler, then
 " my Lord of Antrim's servant. In the passage,
 " near Rathcool, the rebels fell upon them, and
 " barbarously killed some, and wounded others:
 " myself and one more escaping by the goodness
 " of our horses. But a servant of mine govern-
 " ing the carts, and being an English-man, they
 " took; and whilst they were preparing to hang
 " him, Sir John Dungan's eldest son, Walter
 " Dungan, came forth from his father's house with
 " a party, and rescued him with the rest of those
 " that were left alive, and brought them safe to
 " Dublin, where I was gotten.

" In a few days after, the Marquess of Ormond
 " sent out a party towards the place where this
 " murder had been committed. I went with
 " them, and coming near, we met Sir Arthur
 " Loftus, governor of the Naas, with a party of
 " horse and dragoons, having killed such of the
 " Irish as they met.

" But the most considerable slaughter was in a
 " great strength of furze, seated on a hill, where
 " the people of several villages (taking the alarm)
 " had sheltered themselves. Now Sir Arthur
 " having invested the hill, set the furze on fire on
 " all sides, where the people (being a considera-
 " ble number) were all burnt or killed, men wo-
 " men and children.—I saw the bodies and furze
 " still burning.

" The sadler that I had left in my Lord of An-
 " trim's service, some time after met me, com-

" plaining, that coming from Dublin he had been
 " taken by the rebels, by means of a boy that serv-
 " ed your lordship, and if I would not give him for-
 " ty shillings (being he was damnified in so much)
 " he would complain. I told him that the boy he
 " mentioned was no servant of yours, but kept out
 " of charity, and to whip the dogs out of doors;
 " being blind of an eye, and lame of a leg. He
 " replied, that altho' he were blind and lame, he
 " had a note from my Lord of Antrim, to have
 " him apprehended by those that were neither
 " blind nor lame; which he gave to them, who
 " took him prisoner, and carried him to the
 " garrison of Leixlip, kept by the rebels. I bid
 " him do what he pleased; for I would not give
 " him one farthing.

" The next I heard of it, was, that he had
 " complained; and that your lordship was indict-
 " ed for high treason. Upon which I made my
 " addresses to the lords justices again, to let them
 " know, that they had not kept their words with
 " me, in suffering this clandestine proceeding against
 " my brother; but however, I would go and fetch
 " you; and to that purpose desired them to let
 " me have a party of horse, but that they refused.
 " I then came down to you with some of my
 " friends, and acquainted you with what had past:
 " You answered, that you knew nothing of it, and
 " went immediately with me to Dublin; where you
 " addressed yourself to my Lord of Ormond, as I
 " did myself in your behalf to the lords justices
 " and council, to acquaint them that you were
 " come. They replied, that they could say no-
 " thing to it 'till you appeared before them, which
 " you did the next day; and then they ordered
 " you to come the day following; at which time,
 " without calling you in, they committed you to

" Mr. Woodcock's house, one of the sheriffs of
" Dublin.

" Now, I seeing this rigorous usage towards
" you, with such bloody doings on all sides, and
" having been refused a pass for myself to go to
" England, made a shift to go away in a small
" boat, and go directly to the king at York, and
" petition him, that you might be sent for over
" to be tryed here by your peers. But his ma-
" jesty's answer, was, that he had left all the af-
" fairs of Ireland to the parliament. Upon which
" I went to London, and petitioned the parlia-
" ment to the same effect. Their answer was,
" That they could do nothing without the king,
" of which I gave you an account by letter. This
" was the last correspondence I had with you,
" being after that continually serving his majesty
" in England. But the King coming from New-
" ark to Oxford, he sent me with dispatches to
" my Lord Lieutenant, and ordered me to go to
" you and use my endeavours to persuade you to
" hasten a peace. You received the commission
" as very agreeable, saying, That from the begin-
" ning of the war you had always laboured for
" a peace, and that you hoped it would soon be
" done. Before I returned I saw it proclaimed.
" —And it goes by the name of The peace of for-
" ty-six."

London, July 6, 1683.

Thus you have seen by my brother's letter, how,
and upon what account I was made a prisoner by
the lords justices, and no hopes left me of any
relief from either the king or parliament of Eng-
land; but was after twenty weeks imprisonment
ordered to be removed from the sheriff's house to

the castle. This startled me a little, and brought into my thoughts the proceedings against the Earl of Strafford, who confiding in his own innocence, was voted out of his life, by an unprecedented bill of attainder. Besides, I heard nothing almost whilst I was in prison, but rejoicings at the King's misfortunes, and the ill success of his arms, then engaged in actual war with his rebellious subjects in England. The lords justices and most of the council, were too plainly of the parliament faction, and the Marquess of Ormond, whom I knew most faithful to the King, fell desperately sick of a fever, not without some suspicion of poison, and was then given over by his physicians. Hereupon I weighed well my own circumstances, and concluding, that innocence was a scurvy plea in an angry time, I resolved to attempt an escape, and save myself in the Irish quarters, which I effected in this manner.

After the battle of Kilrush, there was one George Ledwidge, an Irish trooper, of the Marquess of Ormond's army, left wounded at my house; who being recovered (in acknowledgement of kindness received) often visited me in prison. I found so much fidelity in this man towards me, that I trusted him with my design, and desired his assistance. The trooper overjoyed to hear I had that confidence in him, declared he was ready to venture his own life to save mine, and would value no danger to free me from that restraint. With this, immediately I gave him money to buy me three horses for myself and two servants, with saddles and pistols, and ordered him to have them ready at a certain place, against next morning. This he punctually performed, and the night following, just as the maid was to shut the door, it being somewhat dark, I slipt into the street, leaving my two

men in the house, and appointing them where they should find me in the morning. About nine of the clock they came out of the house, and bid the maid make no noise, pretending I was not well, and had not rested that night. They no sooner came to me, the guards of the town withdrawn, and the patrols come in, but I sent them before with the trooper's son to get our horses ready; the trooper and myself soon following; but I, as his man, carrying a saddle under my arm. To be short, we mounted all on horseback, marched as troopers carelessly out of town, and took our way by Temple-Oag, thro' the mountains of Wicklow, towards Kilkenny. But before dinner my escape was discovered by the people of the house, and on notice given to the lords justices, I was pursued by a party of horse, taking their way to my house, at Maddingstown. In the night they invested it, but not finding me (after they possessed themselves of what they could find) they killed many of my servants, and burnt my house: this I saw as I passed by, and had notice by the way, that Castlehaven also was seized by the English, and all I had there pillaged and destroyed.

On my arrival at Kilkenny, I found the town very full, and many of my acquaintance, all preparing for war. To this end they had chosen amongst themselves, out of the most eminent persons, a council, to which they gave the title of The supreme Council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland, and formed an oath of association, by which all were bound to obey them. They had made four generals for the respective provinces of the kingdom; Preston, of Leinster; Barry, of Munster; Owen Roe O Neil, of Ulster; and one Bourke, of Connaught; and being

to give commissions, they caused a seal to be made, which they called the seal of the council.

I was sent for to this council to tell my story, where I gave them a particular account of my adventures; and being asked, what I intended to do? I answered, to get into France, and from thence into England. Hereupon they told me their condition, and what they were doing for their preservation and natural defence, seeing no distinction made, or safety but in arms; persuading me to stay with them, being I was beloved in the country, had three sisters married amongst them, was persecuted on the same score they were, and ruined so, that we had no more to lose but our lives. I took two or three days to think of this proposition, and to examine the model of government they had prepared against the meeting of the general assembly, and most particularly their oath of association, which was as followeth.

The Oath of Association.

" I A. B. do profess, swear, and protest before God, and his saints and angels, that I will, " during my life, bear true faith and allegiance " to my sovereign Lord Charles by the grace of " God, King of Great-Britain, France and Ire- " land, and to his heirs and lawful successors: " And that I will to my power, during my life, " defend, uphold and maintain, all his and their " just prerogatives, estates and rights, the power " and privilege of the parliament of this realm, " the fundamental laws of Ireland, the free ex- " ercise of the Roman Catholick faith and re- " ligion, throughout this land; and the lives, just " liberties, possessions, estates, and rights of all

“ those that have taken, or shall take this oath
 “ and perform the contents thereof: And that
 “ I will obey and ratifie, all the orders and decrees
 “ made and to be made, by the supreme council
 “ of the confederate Catholicks of this kingdom,
 “ concerning the said public cause: And that I
 “ will not seek directly or indirectly any pardon
 “ or protection, for any act done, or to be done
 “ touching this general cause, without the consent
 “ of the major part of the said council: And
 “ that I will not directly or indirectly do any
 “ act or acts that shall prejudice the said cause,
 “ but will to the hazard of my life and estate,
 “ assist, prosecute and maintain the same.

“ Moreover I do farther swear, that I will not
 “ accept of, or submit unto any peace, made, or
 “ to be made with the said confederate Catholicks,
 “ without the consent and approbation of the
 “ general assembly of said confederate Catho-
 “ licks. And, for the preservation and strength-
 “ ening of the association and union of the king-
 “ dom, that upon any peace or accommodation
 “ to be made, or concluded with the said confe-
 “ derate Catholicks as aforesaid, I will, to the ut-
 “ most of my power, insist upon, and maintain
 “ the ensuing propositions, until a peace, as
 “ aforesaid, be made, and the matters to be a-
 “ greed upon in the articles of peace be establish-
 “ ed and secured by parliament.

“ So help me God, and his Holy Gospel.”

Having spent some time on these thoughts, and at last taken my resolution, I returned to the supreme council, thanked them for their good opinion of me, and engaged myself to run a fortune with them. Whether anger and revenge

did not incline me to it, as much as any thing else, I cannot certainly resolve. This I well remember, that I considered how I had been used; and seen my house burning as I passed by ; besides that I was a light man, with no charge, and without any hopes of redress from the king, who was then engaged in an intestine war. Now being thus a confederate, and having taken the oath of association, they made me one of the council, and general of the horse under Preston.

The first assembly met the 24th of October, 1642. It differed little from a parliament, but that the lords and commons sat together. They approved, without delay, all the council had done, and settled a model of government, viz. That at the end of every general assembly, the supreme council should be confirmed or changed, as they thought fit. That it should consist of twenty-five, six out of each province, three of the six still resident ; the 25th was myself, with no relation to any province, but to the kingdom in general. Every province had a provincial assembly, which met on occasions : and each county had commissioners for appplotting money within themselves, as it came to their shares, on the general applotment of the province. Many other things there were as to government, but these are the most remarkable.

The general assembly being ended, the supreme council sent envoys to the king of France, Mr. Rotchford, and after him Mr. Geoffrey Barron : To the king of Spain, F. James Talbot, an Augustine Fryar : to the pope, first, Mr. Richard Belling ; after him the bishop of Ferns, and Mr. Nicholas Plunket. Besides these they had residents with all these princes, but they were generally churchmen.

The king of France first sent them in return M. La Monarie, to whom succeeded M. Du Moulin, and after him M. Talloon. The king of Spain first sent M. Fuysot, a Burgundian, to whom succeeded the Count of Beerhaven, after him Don Diego de los Torres. The pope sent one Scarampus, Priest of the Oratorian order, who remained 'till the coming of Rinuccini, Archbishop and Prince of Fermo, in quality of Nuncio. All this while the generals were not idle, and mine took in Burras, Fortfaulkland and Byrrh, in the King's County, where I was with him, and had the good fortune to begin my command in the army with an act of charity; for going to see this garrison of Byrrh before it marched out, I came into a great room where I found many people of quality, both men and women.

They no sooner saw me, but with tears in their eyes, they fell on their knees, desiring me to save their lives. I was astonished at their posture and petition, and having made them rise, asked what the matter was? they answered, that from the first day of the war, there had been continual action and bloodshed between them and their Irish neighbours, and little quarter on either side; and therefore (understanding that I was an Englishman) begged I would take them into my protection. I knew there was too much reason for their fears, considering they were to march two or three days through the woods of Iregan, and waste countries, before they came to Athy, their next friend garrison. I went therefore to the general immediately, and got to be commander of their convoy, and to make sure, I culled out 300 foot and 200 horse, in whom I had most confidence, and carried off the people, who were at the least 800 men, women and children, and though sometimes attacked, I deli-

vered them with their baggage safe to their friends. Our next undertaking was on the 5th of October, 1642; Colonel Muncke (since made Duke of Albermarle) having relieved Ballynekill, a castle in the Queen's County, General Preston overtook him near Timachoo in his retreat, and pressed him so, that he was forced to fight. In number they were pretty equal, about 1500 horse and foot each, without cannon: but the business was soon over, and not many killed before we were routed: and, had the enemy pursued (it being a plain country, and no garrison near) we had certainly lost most of our foot. This check made us pretty quiet 'till towards the spring following; then the Marquess of Ormond, lieutenant general of the English, marched from Dublin, at the head of 3000 horse and foot, and some cannon, and coming through the county of Wexford, besieged Ross, a considerable town seated on the river Barrow. To relieve this place, General Preston hastened with an army of 5 or 6000 horse and foot, but no cannon; and having sent 1500 men, commanded by Lieutenant General Purcell, into the town, he marched himself to Temple Wodigan, about two miles from Ross, the principal pass by which the Marquess of Ormond must retreat, if he raised his siege, as he did soon after the succour got in; and finding Preston before him in battle, knew not well what to do, being in an enemies country and scant of provisions. The pass was at least half a mile through a bog, where no more than four horses could march in a breast, with water in some places up to the belly. But Preston had not the patience to expect the enemy's coming to him, which they must do or starve, but went over this pass to them, and put himself under as great disadvantage as his enemy could wish. The

Marquess of Ormond took hold of this unexpected advantage, and gave Preston no time to form his army into battle, but charged still as they went over, besides what he did all along with his cannon ; till at length, after a considerable loss of men killed and taken prisoners, we were wholly routed and defeated. This goes by the name of The battle of Ross, fought March 18, 1642.

The Marquess being returned to Dublin, jealousies and discontents broke out between him and some great ones there, which gave Preston leisure to raise another army, and besiege the aforesaid Ballynekill ; where having intelligence that Colonel Crawford was besieging Ballybrittas, a castle belonging to the Viscount Clanmaleer, he sent me with a party of 1500 horse and foot to relieve the place; whereupon Crawford drawing off, in passing the river Barrow, had his thigh broken in a skirmish with a musket shot. I returned as Ballynekill was surrendered, and conveyed that garrison too, as I had done the other at Byrrh, safe to their friends.

After this I remained at Kilkenny with the supreme council, and Preston with his army went into Westmeath ; of whose absence the enemy's garrisons in the county of Catharloe and Queen's county taking advantage, they alarmed the county of Kilkenny to the very gates of the city. To oppose these I was commanded by the council to gather what forces I could to succour and secure the country. I quickly got together about 2000 men, with some pieces of cannon ; and tho' the enemy retired, yet I marched on to Ballenunry, in the county of Catharloe, and took both that and Clogh-grenan ; where the county of Wexford regiment mutinied, but being soon reduced, and some examples made, served well for the future,

I marched thence to the Queen's county and besieged Balla-Lenan, commanded by the Grimes's, a valiant people, with a strong garrison: But a great breach being made, when we expected they would surrender, word was brought us, there was a strong party coming by the way of Athy to relieve them. I was not well at the time of this alarm, but lay upon my bed in my tent; yet I made no great matter of it, knowing the succour could not be considerable. But the Viscount Mountgarret being abroad, he sent me word they were coming on in great haste, and stronger than I thought, both in horse and foot, and were then near the end of the Tougher; which was a great way cut through a bog, and I believe about half a mile in length. Now I had a strong guard of horse and foot at my end of the Tougher, with a line thrown up before them; so that I judged the danger was not great: however, I got on horeback with 400 horse; and as I came to my guards, seeing some of the enemy on the Tougher, in their march towards us, I commanded them to follow me to meet the enemy, thinking to have fought them upon the Tougher: but they seeing us advancing, retired, and (while I was passing the Tougher) formed on a plain two musket shot off again; but when they perceived I was preparing to charge, they drew off again and did not stand me 'till they had got through a gap, in a ditch, with water up to the belly; which having passed, they lined the ditch with musqueteers, drawing up their horse and foot close by to defend the gap. Sir Walter Butler with his squadron begun the fight; but he being wounded in the ditch with a pike through his thigh, his men fell off, and a second squadron charged and did the like. But the enemy seeing more squadrons coming on, they took

their advantage in the smoke to run away, which we could not see till the smoke was over. Then we followed but could not engage them 'till they recovered Athy, which was not far off. I guessed them to have been about 300 horse and about 7 or 800 foot. Their succour being thus beaten in their view, the besieged garrison yielded on condition to march out with their arms. While this place was putting in order, I went with a party of horse to Ballyadams, a castle about a mile distant, belonging to Sir John Bowen, provost-marshall, an old soldier, and my long acquaintance. I sent to speak with him, and after some kind expressions, told him, I must put a garrison into his castle. He flatly denied me, and calling for his wife and two very fair daughters he had, desired only one favour, that in case I was resolved to use violence, I would shew him where I intended to plant my guns, and make my breach. I satisfied his curiosity, and asked him what he meant by this question? because, saith he (swearing with some warmth) I will cover that part or any other your lordship shoots at, by hanging out both my daughters in chairs. 'Tis true the place was not of much importance; however this conceit saved it.

All this while my Lord of Inchiquin was master of the field in Mounster, having won some battles, beat the Irish in all parts, and in a manner subdued the whole province to four or five towns; and with these too he was now going to work, beginning with Killmallocke in the county of Limerick, having set down before it with an army of 7000 men. This alarmed the general assembly then sitting at Kilkenny, but most particularly those of that province, who after many councils among themselves, concluded at last, to ask suc-

cour of the general assembly, tho' they saw but little hopes of any in that exigency, for Preston was far off with the army. Wherefore opening themselves more clearly than perhaps they would have otherwise done, they laid claim to me, as having my earldom and estate in their province, tho' I was an officer of Leinster: alledging further, that their general was old and unfortunate, and that if I had the command, all would join in the defence of their country, and take new courage. I was present at this proposition, and tho' I had ambition and vanity enough, yet having no prospect of success I thanked them for their good opinion of me, but heartily opposed the motion. But my Lord Muskry, since made Earl Clancarty (my great friend and of that province) desired the assembly to command me by virtue of the oath of association. This they did, and ordered that my commission (under the seal of the confederates to command in chief for that expedition) should be immediately dispatched. I submitted, and being asked what troops were near at hand? I answered, I knew of none but of my own life guard of horse; 'tis true, I had observed many straggling horse in town, but they would not be brought together without money. Some money was then given out, and by ten of the clock the next morning I had engaged about eighty horse, and put them under the command of Garret Talbot, brother to Sir Robert Talbot: These with my life-guard, commanded by captain Fitzgerald, commonly called Garret Garrough, made in all 120 horse, and with them I marched; accompanied with my Lord Muskry and some others of the province, to the frontiers of Mounster, where I met about 120 horse more, most of them gentlemen, and formed into a

squadron. But at Cashel I was received by the general of the province, Barry; lieutenant general Purcell; and some other officers with 700 foot. That night I had intelligence, that the Lord of Inchiquin had raised his siege, and marched with 4 or 5000 men into the county of Kerry, but had sent Sir Charles Vavasor with 16 or 1700 horse and foot to take in Cloghleagh, a castle then belonging to the Condons; I marched immediately towards him, and before night encamped within three miles of him, a mountain only between us. My brother Richard Butler of Kilcash, brother to the now Duke of Ormond, was sent out the same night to discover the enemy, and in the morning word was brought us that the castle was taken, the garrison, after quarter given, put to the sword, and my brother engaged. On this I lost no time, but marched in all haste with my horse to his succour; which joined with his made but 240 or 250 at the most. The foot marched after, but the old general moved so slowly, that I had defeated the enemy before he came within two miles of the place.—The manner thus.

Sir Charles Vavasor, tho' he had taken the castle, remained still in his camp, 'till seeing me, on the top of the mountain above him, come to succour mine that were skirmishing, he drew to arms; but being amongst hedges and ditches, and the castle between us, I could not come at him, 'till he marched towards Castle-Lyons: where, in a large plain he drew up his men: but I going by the advantage of a great valley, came into the plain unseen, almost as soon as he; and having ordered three or four squadrons of boys on horseback to possess the ground from whence I came, I lost no time in the charge, and quickly

defeated his horse, who, to save themselves, broke in on the foot, and put them into disorder: their cannons were useless, being past the black water. This (with God's blessing) and a great shower of rain gave me the victory, with little or no loss. Sir Charles that commanded, with several other officers, remained prisoners; their cannon and baggage taken, and all their foot defeated; but their horse, for the most part escaped.— This happened on a Sunday the 4th of June 1643.

Now having left the best advice I could for the improving this advantage, I took leave of the general, with others of the province, and returning to Kilkenny, gave the assembly an account of what had past, in order to their future commands. Soon after the assembly being broke up, and a supreme council chosen to govern in their absence, I returned to Kilcash (my brother Butler's house) to rest myself. The council went to Ross, and whilst they were there, a trumpet brought them a letter from the Marquess of Ormond, setting forth his being appointed by the king to hear our grievances, and to treat for an accomodation. The trumpet was quickly dispatched with some slight answer; which coming to my knowledge, I repaired to Kilkenny, where the council was returned; and on information, finding what I had heard was true, I sent for Sir Robert Talbot, Sir Richard Barnwell, Col. Walter Bagnell, and such others as were in town well affected, and leading men in the assembly, tho' not of the council, and having acquainted them with what I understood, I told them, if they would stick to me, I would endeavour to give it a turn. We all agreed on the way, which was to go to the council then sitting, to take notice

of the king's offer and their return, and to mind them, that the consideration and resolutions concerning peace and war, the general assembly reserved wholly to themselves; and therefore to require that they would send immediately a trumpet of their own, with a letter to the Marquess of Ormond, giving him to understand, they had issued summons for a general assembly, in order to acknowledge the king's gracious favour, in naming him his commissioner, to hear and redress our grievances. This we put in execution, and gained our point without much resistance.

The Marquess of Ormond being thus brought into a treaty, the confederate commissioners met at Siginstown, near the Naas, as his excellency had appointed, in order to a cessation of arms. At which time all parties laboured to get what they could into their possession. Col. Muncke (after made Duke of Albermarle) marched into the county of Wicklow to take in the harvest, and possess some castles there. I was commanded by the council to make head against him; and having rendevouzed my troops, consisting of about 3000 horse and foot, at Ballynekill, in the county of Catharloe, notice was brought me, that Col. Muncke was marched away in haste to the assistance of the Lord Moore, then facing Owen Roe O Neil, near Portlester. Finding therefore now I had nothing to do, I thought it worth my while to endeavour the taking in Dollars-town, Tully, Lacagh, and other castles in the county of Kildare, between the rivers of Barrow and Liffey. I began with Dollarstown (a place about a mile from Kilcash, where I had a garrison) and marched from my camp with 3 or 400 horse, and about 300 foot; and coming before

the place in the evening (for it was no more than six or seven miles) I sent a trumpet to the master of the castle, Mr. Dade; who had been long of my acquaintance. The gentleman immediately came to me upon summons, and I gave him reasons why he should put the place into my hands.

He consented; but as the men, appointed to garrison the place, were marching towards it, one Lieutenant Burres, who came but that afternoon from Athy, debauched the soldiers within, and persuaded them to shut the gates, and bid me defiance. This I saw was no fault of the gentleman, whom I kept with me that night, and lodged at Kilcash; but I immediately dispatched an express to Kilkenny, for three good battering pieces. Next morning I returned to my camp at Ballynekill, and the day following my guns being come as far as Catharloe, I sent in the evening a party of horse and foot, with orders before day to invest the place. The morning following I arrived myself, with the rest of my forces and the cannon, and without summoning began to batter: And having made a breach, stormed the place, and set fire to the gates; but the gentlemen's wives and some others were suffered first to come out. The rest, especially Mr. Burres, and his comrades, suffered as they deserved.

Having mastered this place, in the evening I dispatched a party of horse and foot to invest Tullagh, which they did before day. In the morning I arrived myself, and having planted my guns, summoned the place, and had it yielded by Sir George Wentworth, then governor, on condition, that both horse and foot might march out with their baggage.

Having thus taken this castle, and left a garrison to secure it, I encamped on a heath called the Curragh of Kildare, from whence I summoned all the castles thereabouts, and had them yielded; only whilst I was thus encamped, Col. Chidley Coote, governor of Lacagh, came to me, and tho' he had nothing to secure his return, yet, on conditions I let him go; and after appearing before his place, had it according to our agreement.

This done, I repassed the Barrow at Minster-even, marched into Leix, and took three or four small places. But as I was going on I had advice from the commissioners at Siginstown, that they had on the 15th of September 1643, concluded a cessation of arms with the Marquess of Ormond, to which I submitted.

After this, a treaty went on for a peace, and in a short time all was agreed, except a concession for churches, and the splendid exercise of religion, as in France or Spain. This was much insisted upon by the confederate commissioners, and as resolutely refused by my Lord of Ormond, who alledged that the king (by agreeing to such an article) might endanger the loss of his whole party in England; and in truth it would have signified little to the confederates; for their security, chiefly consisted in keeping up the king, and having force enough in their own hands, which would have been sufficiently left them, tho' 20,000 of their men had been sent into England, along with the 10,000 men my Lord of Ormond sent out of Leinster and Mounster of the English troops in those provinces. For at this time as all agreed to the cessation, except the Scots in Ulster, so they would have submitted to any peace, that should have been concluded

between my Lord of Ormond and the confederates; and thus united, the Scots and the rest of the parliament party, would have been soon forced to a submission. It was certainly a great folly, and a prodigious instance of blind zeal in the Irish clergy to stand thus out with the king, after such repeated professions of loyalty, and so many battles lost by their generals in the four provinces of the kingdom, who had not all this time won one single victory from the beginning of the confederacy, nor any colour of success, but what little advantages I gained, as you have already seen.

Besides, it was very visible that the confederate Irish could subsist no longer than the war lasted between the king and parliament; and if upon any terms the king and they agreed, whether he forced them to a submission, or was forced to comply with their insolent demands, as there was no possibility for the Irish then to hold out, so they could not in reason expect any mercy from either; but Major General Monroe some time before arrived in Ulster from Scotland, with 10,000 new Scots, to whom Sir Robert Steward joined, with 5 or 6000 of the old Scots, natives of that province; and also some English, under the command of Sir Audley Mervin, Sir Theophilus Jones, and others, would not submit to this cessation, but forced General O Neil to such great streights (who had been but a little time before defeated by that party, in the encounter where Con O Neil, and many others were killed) that in the beginning of winter (leaving his troops and Crejaghts to shift the best they could for themselves) he came to the general assembly, held at Waterford; where he set forth the lamentable condition of his people, desiring the assistance of the other three provinces, and, in the name of his own province, undertaking

to join to their forces 4000 foot and 400 horse ; but withal declaring, that otherwise he, with his forces and Crejaghts, should be obliged to save themselves in the other provinces. This last point of Owen O Neil's speech (besides their persuasion, that the Scots would not fail soon to follow and visit them) made the assembly come to a quick conclusion, and agree to send 6000 foot and 600 horse out of the other three provinces. But it coming to the question, who should be the general of this army, they went to the election after this manner ; The assembly sitting, those they thought fit to come in competition they caused their names, one under another to be written down, and from each a long line to be drawn ; then at the table where the clerk sate, every member of the general assembly, one after another, with a pen puts a dash on the line of him that he would have to be general ; and to the end that noie should mark more than once, four or five were chosen out of the assembly (two of which were bishops) being upon their oath to overlook this marking. Now contrary to Owen O Neil's expectation, who had designed this generalship for himself, by which he would be generalissimo, I happened to be chosen, which Owen Roe took extremely to heart, as I have reason to believe. However he carried it fairly, and came to congratulate and wish me good success ; giving withal great assurances of his performance, and readiness to serve me to the utmost of his power. Next day a commission was sent me with orders to prepare all things for this expedition ; which I did, and made some enquiry into the matter. But the farther I looked into it, the worse I liked it ; for I considered I was now to make a war, not only in a country where I had never been, but where we had not so much as one city or walled town, and the enemy had many.

That by all intelligence, I found the Scots could draw into the field 16 or 17000 men. That if Owen O Neil should perform, and deal fairly with me, yet all I was to expect did not exceed ten thousand foot and one thousand horse. That having no towns in Ulster, we should be forced to bring all our provisions from the other provinces, where I had my magazines. That I must depend upon Owen O Neil for intelligence; for by such lights I always guided myself in my former small undertakings. But that which most of all troubled me, was, that I did not see how I could avoid a battle, if the enemy had a mind to it; as I was to make an offensive war. I had also this consideration to discourage me, that altho' our parties had commonly the better, yet our army had always the worst. This was experienced in several battles and rencounters; and the reason thereof was clear and obvious. For most of all the great towns in the kingdom were the enemy's, and garrisoned; and of the few we had, there was none but Kilkenny would receive a garrison. So that at our leaving the field in winter, as the enemy returned into their garrisons, where they were with their officers kept in discipline, ours were dispersed all over the kingdom, into little villages, and odd houses, never seeing an officer 'till the next campaign. And therefore came to their rendezvous in the beginning of every field, like new men half changed. And for the horse, they were so haggled out in riding up and down to see their friends, that they seemed hardly able to draw their legs after them; and both horse and foot with rusty arms not fixed: but how plainly soever I saw my ill condition, I must through as well as I could; yet withal resolving to avoid a battle with all possible means, and seek to make my war

by parties and surprises. Now, having time enough before the campaign, I was commanded by the supreme council, to march into Connaught, to reduce some of our own party, which had set up for themselves in the county of Mayo, and were possessed of Castle-carrow and Castle-barr; the former commanded by one Bourke, the latter by the Lord Mayo. I took with me 2000 men, passed the Shannon at Fort-Faulkland, and by the Marquess of Clanrickard's permission, marched thro' his country. These castles made little resistance, and being yielded, I sent my party under the command of Sir James Dillon, into the county of Roscommon, to reduce the Ormesby's and some others that held garrisons there, and would not submit to the cessation. When he had done this work, which he had quickly dispatched, he returned into Leinster, and lodged the troops as he was ordered. But I went myself straight to Kilkenny, to put all in order for the next campaign; yet still with some mistrust of Owen O Neil's performance. Wherefore I desired and prevailed with the council to grant me 400 horse and dragoons more, in case I could raise them, as I did, without charge to the country.

The first rendezvous I made in order to this field, was about midsummer 1644, at Granard, in the county of Longford; where I had appointed 3000 horse and foot, with two or three field pieces to meet me; intending there to have expected the coming up of the whole army; which might be in four or five days time; for O Neil was near encamped at Portlester, and the rest marching as ordered. My spies that met me at this rendezvous, and came in haste, all agreed, they had left the enemy near a certain mountain, threescore miles off; that they were 17000 strong,

with one and twenty days provision, no cannon nor other baggage, and were ready to march. I thought myself pretty secure for that night; but before day one from Cavan (which was but twelve miles distance) assured me he had left the whole army of the enemy there, and that their horse and dragoons would be with me in the morning. On this advice I packed off as fast as I could, and gained Portlester, having ordered the rest of the army to come thither; and at the instant commanded a Colonel with 5 or 600 foot and 100 horse to defend the bridge of Fienagh, that I might not be pursued: it was of stone, and a castle on our end. I sent with him shovels, pickaxes and spades, with plenty of ammunition.

The enemy, according to my intelligence, came at sunrising into the camp I had left, and shewed themselves the next day before that bridge: but my unfortunate Colonel sent over his horse to skirmish; and when they were far enough out, on a sudden the enemy mingled with them, which was the cause our foot could do nothing, but thro' fear to kill their own, left bridge, castle and all, free for the enemy. However it availed them little, for finding me well posted, tho' O Neil was of another opinion, their provisions shrunk, and being at least twelve days march from their own country, they stayed not to give me further trouble, but hastened homewards.

I was now at leisure to call on General O Neil for his 4000 foot and 400 horse, being resolved to follow the enemy, and try my fortune in Ulster, as I was designed. He excused himself, by reason of the continual alarms in his country, that he could not at present make good his word; yet assured me, that so soon as I came into the province, I should have no reason to complain.

On this assurance, I marched on with my 6000 foot, and 1000 horse and dragoons ; and O Neil joined with me about 200 horse and 3 or 400 foot ; his Crejaghts marching with us, and drew me on as far as Toineragaoh ; where having intelligence that the enemy had revictualled themselves, and were returning to encounter me, I pressed O Neil very hard to make good his word ; but he plainly told me, he could not do it ; alledging that his people were all amongst the Crejaghts, and every one looking to save what he had. In this sad condition I blamed my own weakness, that I was persuaded with fair promises to come so far into an enemy's country, and with such a handful of men, to oppose a powerful army ; however, I was resolved to see the enemy, then encamped at Dromore-Iveagh ; and therefore taking such guides as O Neil would give me, and leaving the command of the camp to him, in the evening I marched with my 1000 horse and dragoons, and 1500 foot towards Dromore. These I left on a pass about three miles from my camp, to make good my retreat, intending to fall with my horse into their horse-quarter. But whether wittingly or willingly in my guides, it was sun-rising when I came within two miles of their horse-quarters. Nevertheless, tho' I lost my design, yet still I was resolved to see my enemy. And to this end (perceiving some of their horse at grass) I drew up my men under a hill, near a little river, where there was a stone bridge, and sent a party to take those horses ; which they did, and brought them to me. But the enemy's guard of horse being near, after my horse were come back, seized the bridge and defended it. I sent men to beat them off, but it would not do ; then I sent another party, the same still. Dur-

ing this dispute, I perceived a party of foot coming over a great plain; then I galloped down myself, with some officers and more horse, and forcing the bridge, I had the cutting of that party of foot, and took their commander, captain Blare prisoner: whilst this was doing, a party of mine pursued the horse that ran from the bridge; but before they overtook them they were met with another, which routed them; and others of mine put them also to run. In short, before this bickering ended, most of the horse on both sides were engaged; the enemy at last drew off, and so did I to my army.

Being returned to my camp, I acquainted O Neil with what had passed; and how the enemy's army were advancing, according to my intelligence. Whereupon he advised me to retire to Charlemont, a fort where he had a garrison. I followed his advice, and found it a very good post, there being a very large plain joined to it; on the one side runs the Black Water, and near the fort a bridge over it, the rest surrounded with bogs and moorish grounds. My horse lay encamped at Benboarb, on the other side of the river. At the same time that I came into this place, Monro, with his army arrived at Armagh, about two or three miles distant, and there encamped and fortified himself. Thus neither of us being able to engage the other, we lay in a pretty good correspondence, and the small war we had was chiefly in cutting parties and convoys.

During this idle time I went often to see my horse-quarters, and being one day merry with the officers, several soldiers came about us, and in a pleasant way, I asked them what they would give to come to a days work with the enemy? they answered, they would be glad of it, if their

doublets and skins could be made proof against the launces of the Scots, of which they had many squadrons. Having found this apprehension, I passed off the discourse, and that night dispatched an express to Wexford, where I had a magazine, to bring me thence so many defensive arms as might cover two ranks of my horse; which being come, and every day finding more difficulties, I resolved to march away; for my provision came much harder to me than the enemy's did to them; and O Neil began to be very weary sometimes of assisting me with cows; so that after two months I resolved the endeavouring to gain my own country, seeing no hopes of any forces from O Neil. Which to effect (for I did not desire fighting) I caused a Tougher, or great way to be cut thro' the bog, near the Fort, leading to Toineragaoh, by which the enemy's provisions came. Having finished this way, and knowing their days, I took time to pass over most of my horse and some foot, shewing them beyond the Tougher, as if that night I intended straight for Toineragaoh, passed over the bridge with the whole army, leaving my cannon and baggage in the Fort, with a strong garrison, plenty of ammunition, and all the provision I could possibly scrape to put in. That night I marched and all the next day, taking a great round before I could have my own county on my back, which having obtained in the county of Cavan, I faced towards the enemy, about five or six miles from them; which Monro understanding, and finding I lay easier for my provisions than he did for his, raised his camp and marched home.

It being now late in the year, and Monro retired, I sent a party of horse and foot to bring off my capnon, and what I left in the Fort of

Charlemont, and so marched to Fineagh; where I met commissioners from the supreme council, to receive the army, and lodge them on the three provinces, together with 1500 Ulster-men, who on my orders came to me out of Connaught, being of no army, but endeavouring to live by strong hand, which I could not admit. Thus ended the Ulster expedition, like to be so fatal to the confederate catholicks of Ireland, thro' the failing, or something else, of General Owen Roe O Neil. But after all, the three provinces had no reason to complain of this campaign, for this army they sent kept them from being troubled either with Scots or Ulster people that year.

Having thus left the army with commissioners, on muster above 8000 strong (for I had been recruited with several companies) I took my way to Kilkenny, ill pleased that the treaty of peace trained so long; and designed not to stir from the council 'till I saw it concluded. But coming there, I found the supreme council in great consternation; for the Lord Desmond, governor of Duncannon, which commanded the harbour of Waterford, was declared for the parliament; as also, my Lord Inchiquin in Mounster, who before had not only submitted to the cessation, but sent a considerable number of his troops, and himself followed soon after into England to serve the king, where having some disgust, as it is said, because the Presidency of Mounster was given to the Earl of Portland, he returns and declares for the parliament, commanding by their commission as President of Mounster. These of Waterford especially pressed the taking of Duncannon, making great offers to the council of large assistance: Preston is named for this work, it being within

his province, and is sent thither with 3 or 4000 men, miners, and a good train of artillery. I had the curiosity to see this siege, and will relate the particulars, because the only one in form I saw in Ireland.

He made no line of circumvallation, fearing no succour that could come on the land side; but began his approaches with two attacks, and being come near the place joined them with a line of communication; and then ran them on, divided to the ditch before the rampier; for it had no counterscarpe or bastions, but was fortified in reddant. Those within made a good defence, and lost nothing in six weeks, only the besiegers had made a lodging on the edge of the ditch. At this time two or three parliament frigates arrived with succour of men, ammunition and provisions, and came to anchor within less than cannon shot of the Fort. But before they could man out their boats, so terrible a storm arose, that in 8 or 10 days none could come a shore. Whereupon those within being in despair, and pressed with want, were forced to yield.

All this while my Lord of Inchiquin over-run Mounster, and coming to Cashell, the people retired to the Rock where the cathedral church stands, and thought to defend it; but 'twas carried by storm, and the soldiers gave no quarter; so that within and without the church, there was a great massacre, and amongst others more than twenty priests and religious men killed. Towards the spring the supreme council ordered me to go against Inchiquin, and to begin the field as early as I could. The enemy in this province had always been victorious, beating the confederates in every encounter, having never received

any check, but in that I mentioned at Cloghleagh : So that every gentleman's house or castle was garrisoned, and kept the country in awe. To begin therefore this field, I made my first rendezvous at Clonmell, and the army encamped not far from it. Thither came Dean Boyle, now lord chancellor of Ireland, and then married to my Lord Inchiquin's sister ; his business was to persuade me to spare Doneraile, and other houses and castles not tenable. I answered, that I desired it as much as he, tho' hitherto they had annoyed the country, equally as if they had been strong. I told him in short, I had orders to take all I could, and such as I thought not fit to garrison, to destroy ; yet if he pleased to cause the garrisons to be drawn out, and by letters from the owners to put them into my hands, I would appoint some few men unto them with commanders, in whom I most confided, and would make it my business to intercede with the council to preserve them. The Dean and I parted good friends; but whether he could prevail or no, with my Lord Inchiquin or the owners, I know not ; but I heard no more from him.

Soon after, that is, about the fifth of April 1645, I marched to Caperquin, my army consisting of about 5000 foot and 1000 horse, with some cannon ; and having viewed the place, I soon perceived where they mistook that besieged it the year before; and after much time spent with great loss of men, were forced to quit it : There being a town and a castle that commanded it, they attacked the town, and I on the contrary, the castle, which yielded ; the town could not resist ; Dromane fell likewise into my hands. Whilst I was ordering these places, a trumpet came to me from the Lord Broghill (since made

Earl of Orrery) to let me know that he was on the great Coney-warren, near Lismore, where he should be glad to see me. The trumpet pressed my answer, but I kept him with me, and immediately marched towards my Lord ; but upon my coming near, he drew off, and marched away.

From thence I wrote a letter to the commander of Lismore, a house of my Lord of Cork's, I think one major Poor, I endeavoured to persuade him to put that place into my hands, and gave him many reasons why I desired its preservation, as if it were my own. But he answered, that his honour was above all ; that he would hold it to the last, and doubted not of timely succour ; so I left major Poor, and marched to Michaels-town, which after some shot of cannon, was surrendered. Then having intelligence that 6 or 700 horse were come over the Black-water, marching towards me, and at that time drawn up on a hill, in the great plain of Roche's country ; I marched with the army towards them, not knowing that my Lord Inchiquin might not be near with his forces. But these horse, when we were well in sight retired, whereupon lieut. general Purcell, with several other officers and gentlemen of the country, who had been viewing them near at hand, came galloping to me, saying, that the enemy were packing away, and pressed me to let him have my horse ; for they had them so sure, that they could not possibly escape. I made some difficulty of the matter, but they said it was because I knew not the country ; yet I knew so much, that yielding to their desires, I should be exposed in a great champaign country, with an army of foot and cannon without horse. Nevertheless, after all (which I count certainly amongst my other follies) I suffered myself to be persuad-

ed, and they marched away with my horse in great haste. I followed slowly, and coming to the Black-water, near the Ford of Fermoy, drew my foot and cannon into an old Danes work, Ireland being full of them: and having stayed there a good while, and hearing no news of my horse, I began to be uneasie. But remembering that I had a guard of horse on some beeves that were for the provision of the army, I sent for them, and at the same time unexpected came to me Garret Garrubh, with my old life-guard of horse out of Leinster; these and those, making in all about one hundred, having first ordered 1500 foot to stand in readiness, I marched with them to see what became of the troops sent with Purcell; and finding by the track that my horse had passed the Ford, and taken their way towards Castle-Lyons, I followed. Being come near the top of the hill, above the ford, I left these few I had with me drawn up, and with some officers went myself to a height to discover. Thence I saw all the enemy formed in a great plain, with a shrub wood before them, and my horse in haste marching thro' to charge, having with them 100 commanded foot. But the enemy seeing the squadrons broken as they came on the plain, gave them no time to form, but charged and defeated them.

On sight of this disorder, and the enemy pursuing, when they came near me, I advanced, crying out to my own men, that they should rally behind me. The enemy seeing these fresh horses, and not knowing but the army might be near, pursued no further, but drew up. The 1500 foot that I sent for soon came to me; on sight of which, the enemy retiring to Castle-Lyons, I followed; but it being now dusky, I could

not engage them. Hence I marched to Mallow and took it, but with some shot of cannon, and left a garrison in it. Doneraill and Liscarrol made no resistance. Milltown stood out, so that I thought it would cost some trouble. But whilst the batteries were preparing, 2 or 300 boys belonging to the army, that used to form themselves into battalions, having got crows of iron, pickaxes, and other instruments, a little before sun-set, fell on the place, intending I suppose, only to have taken the cows and sheep within a court, which was walled : but success carried them further; and with the help of some soldiers, they took the castle by strong hand. So all that side of the Black-water being cleared, I sent the army for 15 days into quarters of refreshment, and I went myself to Kilmallock and other places, where I kept my magazines. In the mean time my Lord Inchiquin having taken Rostellan, besieged Ballymartyr, a castle belonging to his uncle, Edmund Fitzgerald, seneschal of Imokelly. My army being come together, I marched to succour it; but there being a flood in the Black-water, I was hindered for two days, so that when I came in sight of the place, I found it taken, and burning, and the enemy retreating; some to Cork, others to Youghall, &c.

Having thus lost my design of succouring Ballymartyr, and that which I wished most, engaging the enemy, I stayed two or three days encamped near this burnt castle, thinking what to do. At length I got intelligence that colonel Henry O'Brien (brother to the Lord Inchiquin) and Lieutenant Col. Courtney, with several other officers, were come by boat to Rostellan to make merry; and that the tide falling their boats were aground, and so would continue till high-water.

On the certainty of this I lost no time, but sent immediately a party to seize the boats, lying more than a musket shot from the castle, following as fast as I could with the army; which being come up, I presently fell to the work, planted my guns on the batteries made by my Lord Inchiquin, not yet destroyed, and in the morning the place yielded on discretion. Hence I marched to Castle-Lyons, which having after some battery yielded, I advanced towards Lismore: But Coney-Castle lying on a pass in my way, and sending (on summons) a defiance, I encamped before it, thinking to plant my guns that night; but the boys eased me of that trouble, and before it was dark took it, as they did the former, by storm. Hence I wrote again to the governor of Lismore, to put that place into my hands, that I might turn the army another way, having as much kindness for the owner as he could have; but not prevailing, I invested it; and having ordered the batteries, and lieut. general Purcell to command, and try if he could have better success with that place now, than when he had formerly besieged it; and so rode to Kilkenny, as not willing to be present at the destruction of a house, where I formerly had received many civilities. At my return five or six days after, I found the place yielded, and the garrison marching out. After this, being encamped at Tallow, intelligence was brought me, that colonel Mac William Ridgeway was gone from Cork, into the county of Limerick, with a great party of horse and some foot: I marched immediately with all my horse, and 1500 foot, straight for Cork; coming near, I left my foot to make good my retreat, and about an hour in the night arrived near the gates, and put myself on the way to Mallow, by which Mac William was

to return ; and gently marching on, we met some of the enemy, whom we charged, and with little or no opposition, killed some and took others ; but the night being extreme dark, we could do no great execution. In this blind scuffle captain James Brown, brother to Sir Valentine Brown, a brave gentleman, was slain. By the prisoners we found that their commander Mac William Ridgeway had been killed that day, by a shot out of a castle in Roche's country. Which way they had taken to return with the body, we could not find. We marched a little forwards, but it being so dark that nothing could be done, I returned with my party to Tallow, and marched the army towards Youghall. All the castles on the way submitted on easy terms : I will only take notice of one, because of the accident, tho' I have forgot the name of the place ; I remember it was a castle that yielded early in the morning without resistance. Now, presently after it was surrendered, the weather being very fair, I went a hunting, leaving Col. Henesey to see the quarter made good, which was to march with their arms, bag and baggage. But the soldiers having been used to take places by strong hand, and so enriching themselves by plunder, would have done the like by this, tho' it had conditions. To prevent this outrage, the colonel and several other officers went into the castle, joining with the garrison in its defence : but the foot nevertheless fell on, and there was great shooting on all sides. I wondered what the matter was, and fearing that the Lord Inchiquin had attempted something, I returned in great haste. The soldiers seeing me, come sooner than they expected, ran into the woods adjoining. When I came to the castle and colonel Henesey had related the matter, I made the

garrison march out according to their conditions. Then I began to enquire after my mutineers, and caused the trumpets to sound and drums to beat, for drawing all to their arms: It was some time before these gentlemen could be brought together. And having at last put both horse and foot in order of battle, I went from battalion to battalion, telling them their fault, and what the consequence might have been, and concluded that they all merited death: which they acknowledging, I added that some justice must be done, and asked them whether they were content, for example-sake, to deliver two out of each battalion as it should fall amongst them by lots? They agreed; but when they came to be shot, I thought the number too great, and made them throw again for two only, which suffered.

But to return to our story: from this castle I marched to Youghall, and encamped loosely before it, thinking to distress the place, and towards the sea near Crocker's works, I sent major general Purcell with 1500 men, and some small pieces, to hinder succour that might come by sea. Whilst this was doing, I went with a party in the night, and two pieces of cannon, and passed the Black-water at Temple Michael, and before day had my two guns planted at the ferry point, over against Youghall; and within less than musket shot of two parliament frigates: at the second shot one blew up; but some days after the enemy made a sally from Crocker's works, and ill treated major general Purcell, taking one of his guns.

Now, by way of digression, I must tell you that about this time (that is midsummer 1645) arrived in the west of Ireland, Rinuccini, archbishop and prince of Fermo, in quality of Nuncio, sent by pope Innocent the tenth, to the confede-

rate catholicks, and coming near the coast was chased by a parliament frigate, commanded by one Plunkett; but as he was ready to lay him on board, to the great misfortune of the confederate catholicks, and many other good interests, Plunket's kitchen chimney took fire; which to quench, he was forced to lye by, and give the Nuncio opportunity to gain the shire.

Soon after this there came a fleet of boats, and bigger vessels, sent by my Lord of Inchiquin from Cork, with supplies of men and provision, and succoured the town; on which I marched off, and trifled out the remainder of that campaign in destroying the harvest; only a party of my men attempted to plunder the great Island, near Barry's Court; but being ill guided in passing, and the sea coming in sooner than they counted, their design failed. Besides there were of the enemy that opposed their coming on dry land, and captain Thurlagh O'Brien was killed by a loose shot out of a castle in the island.

Now it being the latter end of November, the snow falling, I retired to Caperquin, and commissioners being come to lay out winter-quarters for the army, I left it and repaired to Kilkenny, where I found the council in great debate, and much divided concerning the peace, which their commissioners had fully concluded with my Lord of Ormond at Dublin, and wanted nothing but to have their agreements approved by the supreme council. Many days the dispute held after my coming to them; and at length, we that were for the peace, finding ourselves the greater number, pressed the putting it to the vote; on which one of the contrary party, seeing it could not be refused, proposed, that being we pretended all to be for the king, and differed only in the way of best

serving him; to put us right, we should do well to desire a certain English nobleman, then in town, and lately come from England, to give us his opinion in the matter, which he did in the afternoon, absolutely against the peace, if the Nuncio did not approve it; which was not to be hoped for. Thus all our endeavours that were for it came to nothing, and I, for my part, immediately laid down my command of Mounster, and would act no more. Many reasons I had besides that drove me to despair; for tho' on the first cessation, if peace had followed in any reasonable time, we might probably have kept up the king; yet now the matter was much changed, since the coming of the Nuncio, and Inchiquin's revolting with the English army, and the towns under his command from the king's authority, and declaring for the parliament. This, together with the underhand actings of the Earl of Glamorgan, newly come from England, gave much trouble to the Marquess of Ormond, in his endeavours for establishing the peace. This Earl of Glamorgan pretending large commissions from the king, by colour of which he had entered into several secret treaties with the Nuncio's party, very contrary to what my lord lieutenant had been doing, gave such hopes to the confederates that they would give no ear to what the lord lieutenant had proposed. Besides, the confederates, since the arrival of the Nuncio, had fallen into great factions and divisions, and amongst others, began to renew the fatal distinction between the old English and ancient Irish.

On my quitting the command of Mounster, the Earl of Glamorgan (since made Marquess of Worcester) was chosen in my place, on promises that he would contribute out of his own purse, great sums of money towards the service of the province.

In order to this, he gave commissions for the raising many new regiments, giving winter-quarters on the province with promise of satisfaction. But my Lord Inchiquin, towards the spring, sent along by sea from Cork 500 foot and 150 horsemen with saddles and all sorts of arms for horse and foot; who entering the Shannon, seized Bonratty in the county of Clare, a castle belonging to the Earl of Thomond, where they found a brave stable of horses and mares, on which he mounted all his horsemen. The Earl of Glamorgan, to keep in this garrison, ordered some troops to Six-mile-bridge, between Limerick and Bonratty, but were beaten by that garrison. The Earl after this rendevouzed his whole army at Clonmell; to which rendevous my Lord of Muskry came, and some differenees falling out between these two noblemen, my Lord Muskry took the command of the army to himself, and with it besieged Bonratty. To this siege the supreme council soon followed; the place held out five or six weeks; but not two days after the attack was changed to the side of the moorish land towards the Shannon.

I must now tell you that the Lord Inchiquin, on the certainty of Bonratty's being besieged, and the whole army of Mounster engaged, marched into the county of Limerick, and having no passage over the river Shannon to go to its succour, thought by diversion to oblige my Lord Muskry to draw off, by burning, plundering and destroying the country, even to the gates of Limerick.

In this city the supreme council sat at that time, whither I coming by chance, they sent for me, and having sufficiently declared to me the ill condition they were in (for Sir Charles Coot was acting in Connaught, the same part that my

Lord of Inchiquin played in Mounster) they desired my assistance, and prayed that I would head some horse they had appointed to rendezvous near Cloghnottye, a house of Sir Edmond Fitzharris, seated in the mountain that runs between the counties of Cork and Limerick.

These were but 500 old horse, commanded by Mac-Thomas, the rest, which they reckoned 1500 more, were to consist of gentlemen, and such as they brought with them: I excused myself as well as I could, alledging, that since my quitting the command in Moonster, I had laid aside all thoughts of war; and that I came there as a passenger in my way to see the seige of Bonratty, having neither equipage nor horse for service; but on their promises to furnish me with these and other necessaries, I was at length overcome by their persuasions, or rather pity of their condition. My condescension was immediately published for the encouragement of the gentry; and the next day I went to the rendezvous, where I found the 500 horse with Mac-Thomas, and as many gentlemen with their dependants as made 500 more, which I immediately formed into squadrons, and drew against my Lord Inchiquin, and kept as near him as I durst; so that now he marched and encamped pretty close. This lasted four or five days, till at length my Lord Inchiquin finding this check hindered him from destroying the country, retired to his garrisons, and I went to the siege.

All this while a treaty of peace with my Lord of Ormond went on, tho' much opposed by the Nuncio, and the national congregation of the clergy gathered by his orders at Waterford, where they met the four arch-bishops, and most of the

bishops and heads of religious orders in the kingdom.

The Nuncio and this congregation went so far as to declare the confederate commissioners treating with my lord lieutenant, and all others that should submit unto the peace in hand perjured and forsown, threatening them with thunders of excommunication in case of persisting. This, with some secret concessions, they had gained from the Earl of Glamorgan in favour of their religion, not discovered 'till found in the arch-bishop of Tuam's pocket after he was killed in a fight near Sligo, divided the confederate catholicks into two factions; the one called the Nuncio's, the other, Ormond's party. Yet notwithstanding, the treaty went on, and concluded in an agreement, called, The peace of forty-six, which being proclaimed at Kilkenny, the lord lieutenant came thither, accompanied with many noblemen and others, besides 1200 foot and 200 horse as a guard. The supreme council received him with all due respect, and surrendered their government to him.

But this sun-shine lasted not long, when the news was brought that those of Limerick had rejected the peace, declaring for the Pope's Nuncio, and affronted the king at arms, going to proclaim it; that Cloamell shut their gates on the same score. General Owen Roe O Neil being proud of a late victory he had gained over the Scots in Ulster, declared also for the Pope's Nuncio. Preston, general of Leinster, being at Byrrh, in the king's county, looked very cloudily, yet held correspondence with my lord lieutenant, but withal excusing his attendance on pretence of some indisposition.

The Nuncio now being at Waterford, in the head of the mentioned congregation, and having by

his threats of excommunications, thus broken us, the lord lieutenant by advice of the commissioners of trust (which were men named by the confederates to see the peace observed) sent me to try if I could persuade the Nuncio to let the peace go on. But all I could do was in vain, he declaring his resolution to oppose it to the uttermost, with other expressions relating to blood, not becoming a church-man.

Being returned, and having acquainted my lord lieutenant with what had passed, and seeing him still fixed to his design of marching into Mounster, I was something troubled; and finding Colonel John Barry (a man in much credit with his excellency) at Sir Lucas Dillon's lodgings, I discovered to them my apprehensions concerning my lord lieutenant's intended march into Mounster; by setting forth the malice I found in the clergy party, and how they grew daily stronger by the revolt of troops and towns unto them; that Owen O Neil was a declared enemy, and at the head of a victorious army, and might certainly, if we marched further, cut off our retreat; that my lord's party for number were not considerable, and that the supreme council were dissolved on the proclamation of peace, and consequently of no authority to make good the publick faith; with much more to this effect, concluding the march very dangerous.

They promised to discourse this with my lord lieutenant; but whether they did or no, or if they did, whether his excellency would believe so much falsehood to be amongst men, as was then designing against him, I cannot tell; but in two or three days after, he began his march for Mounster, and coming to Carrick (a house of his own) word was brought him there, that Mac-Thomas

had declared for the Nuncio, and was drawn up near Clonmell, with 3. or 400 horse... I was sent to him by his excellency, as thinking my interest might have gained something on him, because he had served most of the wars under my command. When I came, and delivered him my message, he answered, that he was engaged with the Nuncio according to his conscience, and would not quit him. I acquainted his excellency, with this answer, and added, that I saw no hopes of reclaiming this man; yet my lord lieutenant went on, and took his way towards Cashell; Mac-Thomas marching for the most part in sight of us.

As we came near the town, and made some halt, his excellency received advice, I think from my Lord Dillon, residing at Athlone, that O Neil was marching against him with all the force he could make; whereupon my lord was pleased to call me to him, and telling me his intelligence, asked my opinien, what was best to be done. I gave it quickly, that he should immediately march back the shortest way, and endeavour to gain Loughlin-bridge. This he did accordingly, but passing near Kilkenny, he sent his brother Sir George Hambleton and myself, to let the magistrates of that city know what intelligence he had from all hands; however, if they pleased he would come to them with the party he had, and venture his fortune with them. They received the message with all due respect, and answered, that if he pleased to come to them, they would serve him with their lives and fortunes, tho' they did believe it would be the loss of him and them together. On our report his excellency kept on for the gaining of Loughlin, where there was a bridge that crossed the river Barrow, a fort at

the end, on the county of Catherloe side, commanded by colonel Walter Bagnall. Having gained this point we lost no time in our march to Dublin, where, coming near, I think the whole people of the city came forth to meet his excellency, with as much joy as ever man was received, having for several days judged him and his party lost. As we came into the suburbs, his excellency honoured me with the carrying of the sword before him thro' the city, for which I can give no other reason (besides his own goodness) but that I had been always a promoter of the peace, and the only man of the confederate catholicks that came with him, and never left him in these his adventures.

The Nuncio now thought all his own, committed to prison such of the late supreme council and others as he called of Ormond's party, and having got his forces together, commanded by O Neil and Preston, as generals under him, he marched them in one army (tho' for their better conveniency, they took two different ways) towards Dublin; they were noised so numerous, and so powerful, that in good earnest, the people, officers and soldiers, did not know what to make of it, and shewed apprehension enough. His excellency perceiving this, as it was too plain, called for me, and we discoursed the whole matter. I took the boldness to give my opinion, which was, That this army of the Nuncio could no longer subsist in any place than they found provisions where they came; that neither of these generals had any magazines during the war; that they undertook this matter in confidence of the plenty they should find in his quarters; that I thought it was a thing of too great hazard to oppose them in the field, and yet if they were not

stopped, they would come on, and at least live upon him till they had eaten all: Lastly, that on consideration of the whole, I thought it best to prevent their coming too near, which could not be done by any other way than by destroying the quarters. His excellency was of the same opinion, and therefore sent orders immediately to all people within eight miles of the town to bring in whatever they had, giving them three or four days time for it, and what was found abroad after the time prefixed, particularly forage and mills, parties were ordered to burn and destroy them. This was all effected before the Nuncio and his army were come to Killkallin-bridge. Yet, notwithstanding this discouragement, they advanced as far as Leixlipp and Newcastle; both which places lying within three miles distant of one another, and six from Dublin. They made their head quarters, Preston at Leixlipp, and Owen O Neil at Newcastle, the Nuncio with his council remaining at Siginstown, some six miles further off. But not being able to live long on the air; for from their own country they expected not much, and the continual rains having raised the river of Liffy, and all the bridges being broken, hindered what was coming to them: and great jealousies (even more than the ordinary old ones) arising 'twixt the two generals, and 'twixt the Nuncio also and Preston, they returned several ways in greater haste than they came.

The quarters being destroyed, and Athlone betrayed to the Nuncio, by Dillon, a fryar, and the harbour of Dublin blocked up by parliament men of war, the Marquess of Ormond was forced to treat: and of the two chose to apply himself to the parliament of England; during which treaty his excellency was forced to march into the

county of Westmeath and other parts, to feed his people, where we were not much at our ease, for Owen O Neil continually alarmed us.

Now all being agreed for the delivery of the places under the Marquess's command, to the parliament commissioners, of which Mr. Annesley (since made Earl of Anglesey) was chief; I took my leave of his excellency, resolving to go to France, tho' with much grief of heart to leave this noble lord, who had shewed so much loyalty, justice, and steadiness in his proceedings, during these transactions, even from the meeting in Siginstown, to the conclusion of the peace made with the confederates; and now again, to the giving up of his government to the parliament, for which, I doubt not, but he shall remain in story, as he deserves, a fixt star, by whose light others may walk in his steps: this was the effect of breaking the peace of forty-six. And let the failure of that peace lye at whose door it will, 'tis no rashness to say, that story hardly mentions any one thing that had so fatal a consequence. For if this peace had gone on, the king had presently been supplied with great forces out of Ireland, both of English and Irish; and probably might have prevented the ensuing mischiefs that shortly after happened, both to him, and to all his loyal subjects throughout his dominions.

But the Irish had a more particular ill fate than the rest, by this breach of faith; for albeit they discovering their error, did, not long after, mightily endeavour to make amends, the best they could, by a second and very solemn agreement, called, The peace of forty-eight; which their commissioners signed, and themselves confirmed and sealed with the blood of many thousands of their best men, who lost their lives to

maintain it, refusing in the mean time advantageous offers of peace (and that even to the very last) made to them by the parliament; yet since his majesty's most happy restoration, all their estates (some very few excepted) do, by the act of settlement, remain with the conquerors.

The Marquess of Ormond having performed agreements with the parliament, left Ireland, and after some time spent in England, went for France. At St. Germans he attended the queen and prince of Wales. But it was not long before my Lord Inchiquin having some discontent given him by the parliament, entered into secret treaties with the Lord Taaff (since made Earl of Carlingford) and other principal leaders amongst the well affected Irish, who, since the rejection of the peace, had lost two great battles, the one at Dungan's hill, at Lynch's knock, under general Preston; the other at Knocknanoss, under my Lord Taaff: and looking on these great losses on their side as heavy judgments of heaven to punish the late unparalleled breach of faith, they began to be as weary of the Nuncio as my Lord Inchiquin was of the parliament. Wherefore, after some time spent in treaties between them, both parties concluded a cessation of arms. The Nuncio, then at Kilkenny, did what he could to hinder this cessation, but not prevailing, retired in discontent to Killminchin in the Queen's county, a country entirely possessed by O Neil's troops, who had fortified Athy, the Fort of Lease, and all other places capable of strength, and provided what was needful. Yet the Nuncio, for all his haste out of Kilkenny, did not omit to leave behind him an interdict on all places, and an excommunication against all persons that should adhere to the cessation of arms, made with my Lord Inchiquin. But

seeing this had no great effect, after a time he left Killminchin, and went to Galway; where finding the townsmen, for the most part, approving the cessation, he put an interdict on the churches and chappels there, causing the doors to be shut up; but the arch-bishop of Tuam got them to be opened by force, which caused such a bustle, that a man or two were killed in the tumult.

The Irish and Inchiquin's party, thus now in cessation of arms, they concluded to contrive the Marquess of Ormond's return, and upon his arrival to declare for the king. To this end agents were sent from the confederates to France, viz. the Marquess of Antrim, the Lord Viscount Muskry, and Jeoffry Brown, Esq. who acted so effectually, that upon their offers, the Queen and Prince of Wales dispatched my lord lieutenant for Ireland, and accordingly he shipped at Havre de Grace, in a states man of war, and landed at Cork, myself and many others attending him. My Lord Inchiquin was then with his army in the field, but came to him in a short time. I went before to Kilkenny, whither his excellency came soon after, and a new treaty was set on foot between him and an assembly of the Irish then sitting in town. But the matter being of great weight, the assembly used all means to be rightly informed of their condition, and therefore required the bishop of Ferns, and Sir Nicholas Plunket (late-ly returned from Rome) to declare faithfully what might be expected from the Pope and court of Rome; they very ingenuously gave an account of all that passed in the negociation with the Pope and his ministers, concluding that no assistance or supplies were to be expected from that side. Hereupon the assembly named commissioners to

draw up such articles as might be proposed to my lord lieutenant in order to a peace.

After some days his excellency and the commissioners came to a full agreement, which the assembly approved, and it goes by the name of the peace of forty-eight. What agreement there was between his excellency and my Lord Inchiquin, I know not; but am sure that Inchiquin demanded of my lord lieutenant, and obtained all Mounster for the recruiting and strengthening his army. The peace of Forty-eight thus concluded, the Nuncio shipped himself for France, and so to his own country, after he had broken the confederacy, and imprisoned most of the supreme council, with others that would not submit unto him; and also had been the cause of shedding the blood of many thousands, slain in fighting his battles and parties; all which concluded with the extirpation of the Irish nation, together with the destruction of the catholick religion in that kingdom. And the satisfaction the confederates got by this disorder, was, the Nuncio's confinement to his arch-bishoprick after the Pope had checked him with these words only, You behaved yourself rashly. From the excommunication the supreme council and assembly, in behalf of themselves and the whole nation, appealed to the Pope, and so it remaineth to this day.

But to my own story; I am to tell you that in the peace of forty-six, there was an article by which it was left to the confederate catholicks to name certain persons for general officers, to whom my lord lieutenant was to give commissions.

Now, I having served them long as has been seen, and the same article being confirmed in this peace of forty-eight, they named me, as they had done

in the former, to be general of the horse of the whole kingdom, which his excellency approved of, gave me his commission accordingly, and soon after sent me into the Queen's county with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, with some cannon, to reduce the Fort of Lease, otherwise called Mary-Borough, Athy, and other garrisons, possessed by O Neil's people: Those troops for the most part were commanded by Sir Thomas Armstrong, colonel Treswell, and other English officers, men that had always followed my lord lieutenant's fortune; and had been recruited and reinforced out of their winter-quarters at Kilkenny, and some counties about it.

With these having well executed my order, and reduced those garrisons, I marched to Loughlin-bridge, and there encamped, giving an account to his excellency of what had passed, and that I would expect there his further orders. But it was not many days before my lord lieutenant, the Lord Inchiquin lieutenant general of the army, the Lord Taaff master of the ordnance, Mr. Daniel O Neil governor of his excellency's guards of horse, with other generals, and the whole army of my Lord Inchiquin's, and some Irish regiments, joined us.

With this army, and a good train of artillery, we passed the river Barrow, and that night encamped in the county of Catharloe, where something passed in point of command that gave me ground to judge myself not well dealt with, besides I was harassed by my marches and labours in the Queen's county. In consideration of which his excellency, at my request, gave me leave to retire for some days to refresh myself, and his excellency marched on and invested Dublin. I returned to Kilkenny, where being arrived, I

found the whole city in an uproar ; the occasion and issue of it take as followeth.

One father Caron, at that time commissary general of the Recollects all over Ireland, being in Kilkenny, to reform the abuses of his Order there, was by the commissioners of trust desired to remove one Brenan, and six or seven more out of the Franciscan monastery of that town, and send them elsewhere to be kept under discipline. Their reason was, that these men were notoriously known to be still most violent sticklers for the ways of the Nuncio, and that they made it their business to incense the people anew against the peace, to alienate them from the government, and draw them wholly to Owen O Neil, who yet stood out against all agreement with the king.

To satisfie so just a demand of the commissioners, father Caron appoints a day for Brenan and his associates to depart Kilkenny, and go to the several other convents, which he had appointed for them. And because he found by their answers, they were resolved not to obey him, the commissioners of trust, upon notice thereof, more effectually resolved to force their obedience to his commands, by sending them away conducted by guards (yet by guards of Roman Catholick soldiers) to the convents appointed them by their superior. On this resolution of the commissioners of trust, Brenan and his refractory brothers, having timely notice, and seeing no remedy, but by the interest they had in the town, three or four of them being natives, as one, by name Rooth, was brother to the mayor; besides confiding in the common people, whom they had already possessed with many lies, but above all persuading themselves that no catholick durst attempt to violate the sanctity of their habit, or the privilege of their

profession, by laying violent hands upon them; and protestants they knew very well there were none in the town. What do they conclude at last? even very religiously to raise dangerous tumults, and that by a most false and malicious invention.

When the day appointed was come, these unruly regulars, by themselves and their emissaries, inform the heads of the rabble abroad, that the commissary and Father Peter Walsh, with five or six more of their company, had privately introduced a number of my Lord Inchiquin's protestant Irish soldiers into their convent, and cloathed them like fryars, on purpose to seize at night those few religious men that remained unalterable in their obedience to the See apostolick; and either to draw them into the river Neoir, that ran by their garden, or waft them over by boat, and put them to a more cruel death elsewhere, in some unknown place.

This lie did so inflame the meaner sort in the town and suburbs (already pretty well prepared by many other inventions) that upon a sudden many of them forced their way into the monastery, cursing and exclaiming against those that would turn away their friends.

Then arming themselves with what came next to their hands, with all fury imaginable, they attacked a little castle, whereinto the commissary with his company withdrew to save themselves. At this time I came to town, accompanied by Sir George Hamilton and four or five gentlemen, with about a dozen horse, three trumpets, and some footmen; and being informed of the matter, I galloped presently with those of my company to the place, had a charge sounded, and fell among the rabble; and firing of pistols, and crying, kill,

kill, kill. The multitude hearing the trumpets, and seeing the fire (for it was now grown dusky) and knowing my voice, were surprized, and thought themselves betrayed, as knowing the army to be far off, in their march to Dublin, and therefore immediately routed and ran away; though they had brought them in the castle so low, that to speak within compass, they could not hold out a quarter of an hour.

The fathers being thus relieved, after four hours defence, I enquired who governed this siege, and found that seven or eight fryars of the convent, and above all, the forementioned Brenan and Rooth were the chief contrivers of this tumult. I sent for these incendiaries, and whilst I was reasoning with them, the town major, one Archer, with a hundred musqueteers came to my assistance, and presently followed the mayor and aldermen; whom after I had roundly rattled for suffering this disorder, I commanded them to lay hold of those fryars, and carry them prisoners to the castle. At which they staggering, and this Brenan, a sturdy fryar, presuming to say, He would fain see what man durst touch his habit; I laid hold on him, saying, Lies the enchantment there? and then the mayor, town-major, and the rest, carried them away prisoners to the castle as I had ordered.

Now after a while that I had diverted myself with hunting, and other recreations in the country, I repaired to Limerick; and while I stayed there, I caused all the people of that city and country (either by fair or foul means) to bring in what remained due to the king of their appoment, and got together about ten thousand pounds, which I delivered to Sir George Hamilton, treasurer of the army.

My lord lieutenant now wrote to the commis-

sioners of trust; sitting at Kilkenny, to let me know that I should now come to the army, and all difficulties concerning command should be removed, to my satisfaction. I obeyed, and Sir George Hamilton and myself, with our ten thousand pounds, went streight to the army, which we found in their march, removing from the Phœnix side of Dublin to Rathmines, where they encamped.

But my Lord Inchiquin soon after acquainted his excellency with some letters he had received from his officers in Mounster, that Cromwell was to land in that country; which, if true, he feared all his towns would revolt, if not prevented by his speedy repair thither, with all, or at least the most part of his army, and desired his excellency's consent, that he might march away with 1100 horse to secure the province. This his excellency imparted to me, which surprised me extremely, being sure the whole army was too weak for the work in hand. Nevertheless, my Lord Inchiquin marched away with his 1100 horse, and you may imagine, many more; which in great measure, gave way to the defeat that soon after happened before Dublin.

Not long after this, Cromwell with his army landed at Dublin, marched to Tredath and took it (with all the towns in them parts) by storm, and those within, near 3000 men, he put all to the sword. My lord lieutenant being not able to make head against him, retired with what troops he had to the county of Kilkenny, where my Lord Inchiquin came to him, and in a short time made up a pretty good army; for besides my Lord Inchiquin's forces, many Ulster regiments of foot joined them; Owen O'Neil having by this time (tho' too late for himself and the king's

service) come in upon articles, which he signed upon his death bed, after he had been rejected by the parliament.

Cromwell having thus carried all before him about Tredath, returned to Dublin to refresh his army; yet stayed not many days, but took his march by the sea side, thro' the county of Wicklow to besiege Wexford. My Lord Inchiquin was sent to oppose, and met him on the strand toward Glascarrig, in the county of Wexford, and fought him, but was defeated.

My lord lieutenant being with his army come to Ross, and fearing that Wexford, now besieged, was not sufficiently manned to hold out 'till he had got an army together to raise the siege, or fight Cromwell; I, as knowing the town and country about it, offered to attempt the relief of it. His excellency accepted of my good will, and ordered me as many regiments of Ulster foot as made 1500 men, and appointed 200 horse to escort us. I took a great compass, and came before day to the ferry near Sir Tho. Esmond's house, called Ballintreman, who, as I remember, was along with me upon this expedition. Then leaving the horse for my return, I passed that arm of the sea in boats, and having delivered the foot to Sir Edmund Butler (the governor) I took the same way homewards as I came.

The town thus manned, was impregnable as to Cromwell by force; yet he took it by the advantage of a castle that was betrayed unto him by the governor, James Stafford. This castle was strong, and stood about 3 or 400 paces from the wall. The communication with the town could not be cut, so that the danger was least there, if treachery had not been in the case. But the castle being betrayed, it mastered all that part of the

wall, whereupon Cromwell's forces entered, and made almost as great a slaughter as at Drogheda.

My lord lieutenant, then with his army, retired over the river of Ross, and encamped on the county of Kilkenny side, from whence his excellency sent me into the county of Waterford to Passage, over against Ballyhack, to look after the relieving of Duncannon, besieged by some of Cromwell's people. I think Ireton commanded; and for all there were parliament ships before it, I ventured one morning with a boat, and got into the place to the governor, a brave gentleman, one Col. Wogan, whom my lord sometime before had sent thither to command, and with him, besides the Irish garrison, about 100 English officers who had served the king in the wars of England.

This gentleman, from the highest part of the rampier, shewed me how the enemy lay; and after I had well considered all, I offered to send him that night by sea 80 horses, with saddles and pistols, if he could mount them with so many of his English officers, and before day make a sharp sally with them and some foot upon the enemy. He liked the proposal extremely, but doubted much my performance; it being about three miles by sea. I desired him to leave that to me, and assured him, he should shortly be satisfied of what I undertook.

Having thus concluded, I took my boat, returned, and immediately set myself to my business, that I might lose no time, because the tide served in the beginning of the night. And having provided boats, I commanded 80 horse to come to the sea-side, caused them to be boated out of hand, and sent them away.

They came all to Duncannon safe, and undis-

covered; all was executed as designed, great slaughter made, and the cannon seized; for the confusion amongst the enemy was great, by reason that they judged it the falling in of an army from abroad, seeing horses come against them, and knowing of none in the fort: Our people retiring before day, the enemy raised the siege in the morning, and marched off.

His excellency after this made me governor of Waterford; whither I went with 1000 men, but the town would not admit them entrance. Whereupon, after several days dispute, despairing of success, I marched away in the night. All this while the armies were not idle; for Cromwell, after the rendition of Wexford, came to Ross, and making a breach, took it. There he passed the river, and marched thro' the county of Kilkenny to Carrick, and crossing the river of Shuir into the county of Waterford, marched on into the county of Cork, where all my Lord Inchiquin's towns opened their gates to him. But Cromwell, for his better security, left colonel Reynolds, with a great party of horse and foot in Carrick, to keep the town and bridge which is over the river Shuir.

Towards the evening my lord lieutenant came to this place with his army, but before he attempted any thing, was called away, on an alarm, that Waterford was in danger; and left the command of his army to my Lord Inchiquin and Lord Taaff, who immediately gave order to storm the place.

This was done with great valour, but wanting materials to make a breach in the wall, or to scale it, they were after some hours forced to draw off, having lost some hundreds of men. I was present at this action, but few knew it. The

more particular actings of the armies, I must leave to the relation of those that know better, for I was seldom with them, but employed up and down, as you see. The persons principally intrusted by my lord lieutenant for the government of the army, were my Lord Inchiquin and my Lord Taaff, 'till the spring following.

Then Cromwell began to move again, having drawn his forces together, and had gained one captain Tickle to secure him a gate or two of Kilkenny, and to betray into his hands my lord lieutenant, myself, and some others, when he should think fit. The plague strangely raged there at that time, as it had for a long while in our towns thereabouts; and Cromwell having left his garrisons in the county of Cork in good order, was advanced into the county of Tipperary, in his way to the siege of Kilkenny; I having nothing to do went early one morning a fox-hunting, as I was accustomed all the winter. My lord lieutenant joining me, said, he would see what we did, and being a little further out of town, he began to tell me how he had discovered the treachery of Tickle, Cromwell's approach, and his design to besiege this city. After some discourse, it was not long before my lord came to the point, and told me it was resolved in council, that he should immediately repair into the county of Clare, and from thence to the adjacent countries, endeavour the raising of an army, to attend the motions of Cromwell; and that in his absence he should appoint me commander in chief in the province of Leinster.

Any man may judge how I was pleased with this honour; but my obedience (tho' I thought myself lost by it) obliged me to a submission, and cast myself at my lord's feet to dispose of

me as he pleased : The commission, with all necessary orders dispatched, his excellency with his generals, and Commissioners of trust, left Kilkenny, and went straight to the county of Clare.

I lost no time in this juncture, but bestirr'd myself with all possible diligence, making major James Walsh governor of the castle, and Sir Walter Butler of the city ; and having done all I could to furnish it with men, provision, and ammunition of all sorts, I marched out myself, leaving the garrison about 200 horse, and 1000 foot strong.

Cromwell now moving from Cashell, on his march to Callen : I went to Catharloe, hoping to have met there such troops, from all parts of the province, as I had ordered, but was disappointed ; for those quartered in the higher part of the dividend, under the command of the Lord Dillon, intirely failed, being about the number of 2500 foot, and 6 or 700 horse, and in their stead I received a letter from his lordship, as if he were sending them in great haste, but they never came, tho' I often repeated my orders.

These and some other troops not appearing, I knew not well what to do ; for I had but 800 foot of the province, and an Ulster regiment of 1200 more. Sir Thomas Armstrong, commissary general of the horse, was with me, and his regiment, with my lord lieutenant's, commanded by Colonel Treswell, and some other troops, made up near 1000 horse.

At this time an Irishman was brought unto me, taken by some of my guards, who, being to be examined, desired to speak to me alone ; which being granted, he produced a piece of yellow wax, in form almost round, which he was to swallow on occasion ; within it there was a note from

colonel Hewson to Cromwell, intimating, that he, with his forces, were upon their march from Dublin, but desired his orders, in respect that I lay in his way. Having copied the note, I rolled it in the wax as I had it; and the fellow having assured me of his return with Cromwell's answer, I let him go on his way. Within two or three days after he returned, and delivered me another piece of wax, as the former, with Cromwell's orders to Hewson inclosed, which I kept; however, Hewson held on his march, and passed the river Barrow, eight or ten miles below me.

Now, tho' I was not of strength to meddle with any of these armies; yet I made some advantage of my intelligence: For whilst they were joining, I marched to Athy, a town with a bridge, eight miles above me, on the same river, where Hewson had a magazine, with 700 men in garrison, and coming before it an hour before sun-set, I took it by storm, with all the garrison prisoners, at discretion. But the place not being tenable, I slighted it, and not knowing what to do with my prisoners, I made a present of them to Cromwell, desiring him (by letter) to do the like to me, if any of mine should fall into his power.

But he little valued my civility, for in a very few days after he besieged Gowran, where Col. Hammond commanded, and the soldiers mutinying, and giving up the place, with their officers, he caused Hammond, with some other English officers, to be shot to death. And having thus gained Gowran, and cleared all other places in the county, he fell to work, and besieged the very town of Kilkenny; whereupon I took my march to Ballyraggett, within seven miles of him: But finding myself too much exposed there, I marched to Ossory, and made my head-quarter at Castle-Town.

(a place belonging to Mr. Fitz-Patrick) whence I sent to the Lord Dillon to come to me with all the force he had. He gave me still fair promises (as before) but never caine. Then with the advice of Sir Thomas Armstrong and colonel Treswell, I resolved, with my party, to enter Kilkenny, which was easy to be done, the side where the river runs being open. But when I came to my rendezvous, my Ulster regiment appeared not, but were marched away to their own country; alledging, they came to fight against men, but not against God. Their meaning was, because of the plague.

This design being thus broken, and a great breach made in the wall near the castle, which had been assaulted two or three times, and no hopes ever to be succoured, I sent orders to the governors to make conditions when they thought fit, and both to join at the same time, tho' the castle might hold out two or three days longer than the town.

Cromwell being thus master of Kilkenny, I retired into the King's county; where understanding that Catharloe-castle was besieged, I appointed a rendezvous, intending to attempt the succour; but coming to the place, I found not half my foot, the rest were marched into Mounster, I know not by whose orders.

Now finding myself thus used, and reflecting on some other hardships put upon me since the peace of 1648, in despair of success, I left Leinster, and went to my lord lieutenant in the county of Clare, where I rendered him an account how I had been disappointed, to the end he might do as he thought fit.

I had not been long there attending his excellency, before Ireton sat down before Limerick, on the county of Limerick side, leaving Thomond's

side open. His excellency repaired thither, and being come near the end of the bridge, sent to the mayor, to let him know he was there with some troops, and ready to enter with them, for the defence of the place. The mayor having consulted his brethren, made excuse, as if they had no need of relief.

Several messages passed to and fro, 'till at length his excellency losing all patience, declared unto them, That if they would not receive and obey him, he would leave the kingdom. But seeing all would not do, he called me aside, and told me he was in good earnest, and would be gone; but commanded me to stay; and keep up a bustle as long as I could, it being the king's service. I was very unwilling to stay behind, seeing he took with him my Lord Inchiquin, my Lord Taaff, Colonel Daniel O Neil, and others his friends. But the sound of the king's service so charmed me, that I abandoned my own judgment and submitted to what his excellency should order.

He then gave me a commission to be commander in chief of the province of Mounster, and the county of Clare, having already that of Leinster, and of general of the horse of the whole kingdom. Thus qualified, his excellency gave me possession of his troops there in their arms; together with his life-guards, to serve me as they had done him, in all about 2000 foot and 1000 horse. His excellency, for my better encouragement, assured me that he would leave a commission for my Lord Clanrickard to be lord deputy.

Now my lord being gone, and not suffering me to accompany him more than a mile, I went into the town, addressing myself to the mayor and aldermen, and I told them how I was left, and asked them, whether they were pleased with it, or would

obey me in that station? They took some time to consult; but at length submitted to my pleasure. Whereupon, immediately I visited their walls, and at the same time took a view of the enemy, whom I judged to be very loose and exposed, if vigorously assaulted: and therefore resolved, in the beginning of the night, to draw my troops into town, and a little before day to make a sharp sally. On what intelligence I know not, but Ireton raised his siege, and marched off that very night.

This done, I returned my troops to their quarters, and remained myself in the town, 'till I had sent orders to all officers, commanding in the several provinces, and particularly to my Lord Muskry, then in Kerry, whom I desired to make himself as strong as he could, and that I woud soon be with him, to increase his forces. In order to this, I passed the Shannon in the night, about twelve miles below Limerick with 2000 men; and though the river was full of parliament ships, and two miles over, yet I had not the least loss, but landed safe in Kerry, near Drumbeg, took Lestole, and marched 'till I came to my Lord Muskry's at Tralee. Having acquainted his lordship with what had passed, and ordered what I would have done, particularly in raising of forces, I left my men with him, and returned to Ennis, my residence, in the county of Clare.

From thence, after some refreshment, I went to Portumna to visit the Marquess of Clanrickard, who bid me very welcome. After dinner, I desiring to retire myself for an hour or two, he brought me to my chamber, and asked whether it would not be troublesome that he stayed a little with me? I answered no, but the contrary; for my point was to get him to take the government, by accept-

ing the commission left by my lord lieutenant; yet I spake nothing of it, hoping that he would begin, which he did.

The passages on this subject are too tedious to be related; but before we parted, I got him to send to the commissioners of trust, then sitting at Loghreagh, for his commission, and declared, he would take upon him the government. Whereupon, to lose no time, I gave him the best account I could of the forces in the kingdom, as well friends as foes: for he, during the war, had been no more than a spectator, beloved and respected of all, and might have so continued, had not his great loyalty drawn him to take up this commission (which was little less than to sacrifice himself and his) only to give the king time to try his fortune with Cromwell, whose armies were then near Sterling in Scotland, encamped not far asunder, as the king's letters (brought by Dean King) to us imported. We agreed at this meeting, that his lordship should immediately raise 1000 horse, as an addition to the standing forces in Connaught, and that I should march with my 1000 horse out of the county of Clare, by Limerick, to the Silver-Mines in the county of Tipperary, and be at such a day at the rendezvous, where I should meet with 1500 foot he would send me, and a good officer.

I complied punctually with my orders, and the mayor of Limerick, as I marched thro' the city, on demand, gave me 100 foot. The alarm of my march was soon known to Sir Hardress Waller, my Lord Broghill, or both, lying near Kilmallock, with great forces. They pursued me in all haste, and I marched on to our appointed rendezvous, but could hear no news there of the 1500 foot I was promised. Having lost this anchor, I was put to my shifts; the enemies coming on, I had no

other way but to thrust myself into the next fastness, and save myself as well as I could ; but there was a castle of the O Maghers' that stood in the way, possessed by the enemy, and there being no other passage, I sent to the adjacent villages, and got together crows of iron, pickaxes, and what else could be found necessary, and fell a storming of the castle, and in three or four hours took it. In this place I kept the 100 men I had from Limerick, to secure the pass, and being now pretty safe, I lodged that night at my ease : here Colonel Fitz-Patrick came to me, who had for some time kept in those fastnesses, with a good party of foot and some horse. My men being well refreshed, I took the plain country, near Burras, and after entering the woods, at the foot of the mountain Sleive Bleauma, I met Sir Walter Dungan, then commissary general of the horse, as was ordered. He brought with him only 300 horse, and I, finding myself still pursued with horse and foot, besides what were gathering round from all sides, I ordered Sir Walter to return from whence he came, and to stop all the forces I had sent for, as well from Ulster as Leinster ; thence with my 1000 horse I marched into Connaught, passing by the bridge of Athlone, and posted to Loghreagh, where my lord deputy then was, with a general assembly sitting in his house. At my coming into his chamber, I found about a dozen principal men of the assembly deputed to him, setting forth the desperate condition of the nation, with the impossibility much further to hold out. Besides, that there were now come to the town, Mr. John Grace, and Mr. John Brien, commissioners from the parliament, or their commander in chief, offering greater conditions than was reasonably to be expected, as the case stood.

Whilst this address was making, my lord was glad to see me come in, and ordered them to repeat what they had said. I seemed much scandalized at the ill timing of their proposals, and therefore declared my dislike to them. Then by my lord's permission (weary and dirty as I was) I went down into the assembly (being a member, as a peer of the kingdom) and expressed my detestation of what they had in hand, demonstrating, that if the 1500 men, commanded by Colonel Burke, had not failed to meet me, as they promised at the rendezvous, I had probably now been master of the field; besides, that the noise of a treaty would destroy all that could be hoped for from the endeavours against Cromwell. That his majesty (as his own letter signified both to my lord deputy and myself,) made no doubt, if he could gain forty-eight hours march towards England before Cromwell, but his business was done; because all were ready to join in his assistance; and therefore conjured us not to hearken to any treaty with the enemy. Then I set forth the state of the forces of the kingdom on all sides, and concluded very severely against the two parliament commissioners; so that they hastily packed out of town, and the assembly let the matter fall.

Reynolds now besieged Tehcrahan in Meath, and my lord deputy came to Tyrrell's Pass, about eight miles from it, with 2000 foot and 700 horse; where a council of war being held, I proposed that our horse should alarm the enemy, whilst the foot attempted thro' the bogs to succour the place; 'twas by all alledged impossible to be done; for coming near the place, there were two necks of land that did almost meet, and between them there was a great way, or Tongher, with a large ditch of water on each side,

which must be crossed, and that in all likelihood, the enemy would plant their guns at both ends of this Tougher, and bring the strength of their army to defend that passage, there being no other way, seeing we had no force to attack them on firm land. I heard all this, and knew it very well, yet did not agree to the impossibility of entering the place; and therefore addressing myself to my lord deputy, I begged pardon, if I guessed at the thoughts of the officers there present; which was, that I being general of the horse, might well advance this undertaking, for I was to be with the horse, and so to have no share in the danger. But to shew the contrary, I desired his excellency to give me the command of that party of foot, and I would venture to relieve the town through the bog, while the horse alarmed the enemy on the other side.

It being thus determined, I entered the bog, which was eight miles long, with my 2000 foot, and his excellency took his march with the horse, as was agreed. Coming in sight of this Tougher, I found the enemy expecting us as we had supposed: For they saw me marching from my first entering into the bog. Then I put my men into the best order I could, in three divisions, two to attempt passing the Tougher, the third, commanded by one Captain Fox, to stand still, and face two or three battalions that were drawn on my right hand, fearing they would fall on my flank or rear. Then I marched on with my two divisions towards the Tougher, but coming within shot, they raked me with their cannon, and great volleys of small shot. Nevertheless I advanced still, and my men fought it on the Tougher with handy-blows, and these that defended it retired to their horse, which stood drawn up at each end

of the Tougher, on firm land. Seeing this going so well, I looked back and saw my third division (which was to stand still) coming after me. I ran to it, crying to the officer that commanded, to attack the battalions which he was ordered to look after.

On this he turned to his men, and spake something in Irish that I did not know, and marched 2 or 300 paces in such a fashion, that I could not tell whether he intended fighting or running away. At last he did run away, and all his party followed, which, when the two divisions that had passed the Tougher saw, they marched on into the place, and I was left alone, only some gentlemen with me, and by the favour of the night (for now it began to be dark) I got off, and by the next morning returned to Tyrrell's Pass. My lord deputy had all the story before my coming, and got the captain secured that had caused this disorder, who being tryed by a council of war, was condemned, and shot to death.

After this, Ireton knowing our weakness too well, and that we did only keep a bustle, till the king and Cromwell had decided their quarrel, he again sat down before Limerick, with a powerful army, on the county of Limerick side. I marched with what forces could be drawn together, encamped at Killaloo, to observe his motions. He kept a guard on his side of the river as I did against him at Brien's-Bridge and Castle-Connel. We lay in this manner a long time; he attempting nothing on the town or river, which was not fordable in any place.

My lord deputy was at this time at Galway, and writ to me in all haste to come to him. On my arrival, he told me, That the abbot of St. Cathe-

rine was in the harbour; and in his company many officers, with a quantity of arms, ammunition, and other materials for war; that they were sent by the Duke of Lorrain, who pretended by some agreement to be protector royal of the kingdom of Ireland, with power over all our forces and places, and to continue that title and dominion till after the war ended, he was reimbursed all his expenses, and his damages satisfied. I was much startled at the news; for tho' I struggled to keep up a bustle, yet I never intended to buy it so dear, as to give any footing, or the least pretence or title to any foreign Prince. And having heard out his lordship, I took the boldness to ask him, how far he was concerned in this matter. He protested before God, and upon his honour, he never gave commission for any such treaty; and as to the thing, he knew no more than what he had told me, other than, that the general assembly, then sitting in town, were in great joy for this succour, and pressed him earnestly for the reception; but I found him entirely against it.

Being thus satisfied, I desired him to leave the matter to me, and let me deal with the assembly. I went therefore immediately and found them on the debate, to which I spoke in my time; and with much detestation of the thing, declared all traitors that were on such terms for receiving this succour, and that I would hear no more of it, but return to my forces, knowing what I had to do. My lord deputy was much pleased with this round discourse, and publickly approved it: So the abbot, with what he had, set sail, and returned from whence he came.

At my return (which was without delay) to Killaloo I found all quiet; and whether Ireton had information of this passage I know not, but by

a trumpet I received from him a letter, four sides of paper, close written in a small hand ; the drift was to set forth the justness of the parliament's proceedings, their great power, how short a time I could subsist, what ill company I was with, and threw what dirt he could on the king I served ; but concluded with great value of my person, pitying my condition, and offering, if I would retire and live in England, I should not only enjoy my estate, but remain in safety with esteem and favour of the parliament. This letter I shewed immediately to Father Peter Walsh, whom I had always found faithful to the king, and a great lover of his country. By his advice, and by the same trumpet, I answered all his points, and rejected his proposition as to every particular, desiring him withall to send no more trumpets with such errands.—From this time there was an end of all messages and letters between us.

All this while Ireton remained still and quiet, without any action or attempt, expecting the coming of Sir Charles Coote on my back, or the fall of the river ; both came together, and besides that, a third unlucky accident : for now some days, I kept guards towards Connaught, when Ireton, by treachery of the officer, one captain Kelly, made himself master of a pass, called, Brien's Bridge ; whilst I was hastening with some troops to oppose, having left the defence of the pass at Killaloo to Colonel Fennel, he cowardly or treacherously quitted it, and with his party fled into Limerick, where, upon the rendition of the town, which was not long after, Ireton, with more than his ordinary justice, hanged him. Some say he was carried to Cork, and there pleaded for his defence, not only this service, but how he had

betrayed me before Youghall; but his judges would not hear him on his merits, but bid him clear himself of the murders laid to his charge.

Now having letters from my lord deputy of Sir Charles Coote's approach, I hastened to him with what troops I had left, viz. about 300 horse, and found him drawn into Loghreagh with his forces; not being able to keep the field against Coote, who was twice his number, yet did not think fit to attack him, and was gone by, before my coming. About this time Athlone gave up to the enemy, and so did Limerick to Ireton some weeks after. In the mean time my lord deputy and myself, with what troops we had, retired towards Jer-Connaught, under the covert of the river that runs by Galway, and so shifted up and down till Sir Charles Coote came before it on Loghreagh's side, and had taken a castle a little above it on the river. Then we retired into Galway, where we had not been long before we heard of the king's defeat at Worcester.

A man now would think this noble lord had discharged his part; yet his zeal carried him further: for he dispatched me for France, to the king, by the way of Innis-bofin (for the river of Galway was full of parliament ships) with orders to set out the ill state of his majesty's affairs in Ireland; how the enemy carried all before them: yet, nevertheless, to serve his majesty, he intended after Galway should be lost, to make a mountain war, and to give the rebels trouble for some time, if his majesty would but send him some small succour, which he demanded, and appointed me to return with, to Innis-bofin; a fit place for a magazine, it being a large island, lying off Jer-Connaught, three miles into the sea, in which we had a strong garrison. 'Tis surrounded with

rocks, and has but one entrance, where there is a pretty good harbour for frigates and small men of war. Here I shipped myself, and landed at Brest, ordering the frigate that brought me, commanded by captain Antonio Vandersip, of Bruges, to expect my orders. We had a sharp fight at sea with an English ship, but foul weather parted us, and no great hurt was done, but the bishop of Down killed in the cabbin, 'tis thought by the wind of a bullet, or fear; for he had not the least sign of any hurt, and lived near a quarter of an hour.

Being landed, I took post for St. Germans, where I found the king, queen mother, and my Lord of Ormond. I delivered my letters of credence, and in a day or two had my audience. They seemed to take it to heart, and consulted cardinal Mazarine and the chief ministers. But the truth is, the king of France's affairs were at that time in so much disorder, by reason of the civil war, that nothing could be done. With this answer the king gave me a letter to my lord deputy, acknowledging his good services, and ordering he should make the best conditions for himself and party that he could, and expect a better season.

Wherefore, having thus discharged my commission, and seeing no hopes of success in Ireland, I discharged my frigate, and with the king's permission, engaged myself in the service of the prince of Conde, who was then joined with the Spaniard. But first, I sent by a safe hand his majesty's letter to my good Lord Clanrickard, of whom I have said so much already, that I need add nothing but my own esteem for his worthy memory, as a pattern of loyalty. Between my leav-

ing him and his laying down arms, I can give no account of his adventures, but have heard that he was driven to great extremity.

APPENDIX.

IN the year 1638, being at Rome, I received a letter from the late king Charles I. requiring me to attend him in his expedition against the Scots, then revolted and in arms. Two days after I took post for England, and near Turin fell into an army, commanded by the Marquess de Leganes, Governor of Milan for the king of Spain, who was marching to join another army, then besieging that place. But soon the siege was raised, and I went into the town, where I found her Royal Highness the Dutchess of Savoy in great disorder, as if she had got no rest for many nights. I taking leave of her, she gave me a musket bullet, much battered, to deliver to her sister the queen of England, that came in at her window, and missed her narrowly.

Arriving at London, I followed the king to Berwick, whom I found encamped with a good army near it, the river of Tweed before him; for the number, to this hour, I never saw a better, and as I was told and believe, it could not be less than 16 or 17000 horse and foot, with a good train of artillery. Soon after my arrival there was a pacification; the next day I dined with

Lesly, general of the Scots; he shewed me his army in battalia, in number about 10 or 12000 horse and foot, but as to the horses and arms, the twentieth man could not have passed muster amongst any armies I have since seen.

After this I passed my time as well as I could at home, 'till in the year 1640 the king of France besieged Arras. On the news I went for Brussels, and thence followed the prince cardinal (governor of the Low-countries) to Doway, his army intrenched near the town, expecting the coming up of others, especially the troops of the emperor, commanded by Lamboy, and those of Lorrain, by the Duke of Lorrain himself. All being arrived, the whole army marched, and coming to Monte St. Aloy, near the enemy's line, encamped on the right by it: many great parties were sent out for the hindering of convoys, but they came so strong that little good was done upon them. The king of France being at Amiens, took care of all, whilst Monsieur Millerie, grand master de l'Artillery, pressed the siege. Much time was trifled in this manner by the Spaniards; at length they attacked the line, but were beaten off. Then jealousies and discontents began amongst the great ones, which daily increased, and the rear-band beaten where their lieutenant general the Count de Bossue was killed.

The hopes of raising the siege grew desperate, and at length the town was rendered to the French, Owen Roe O Neil (afterwards general of the province of Ulster, for the confederate Catholicks in Ireland) commanded within.

The blame of not succouring this place was laid on Don Philip de Silva, general of the horse, under the prince Cardinal. He was afterwards made prisoner in Spain, on suspicion, as having

betrayed the undertaking; but was after released, laying the fault on the first minister, then governing that monarchy, under King Philip IV. as having done all by his orders, being the Conde Duke.

Having seen this action, I returned for England, and sat in parliament 'till the cutting off of the Earl of Strafford, and then I went for Ireland, where I had some estate: and whilst I was there, broke forth the rebellion of 1641, which kept me in war and trouble 'till the peace of 1646, as hath been seen.—Then I went for France.

Coming to Paris, and hearing that Landrisie was besieged by the Arch-duke Leopoldus, governor of the Low-countries, and that a French army was gone to the succour, I had the curiosity to see that action: so I bought horses and followed.

Being come to the army, in two or three days after, we embattled before the line, and so near, that the enemy's cannon killed many men and horses in our lines. I was in the first line, a right-hand man in Prince Rupert's troop, commanded by Captain Somerset Fox, the prince serving as lieutenant general. Now it beginning to be dark, all were fitted for attacking the line; and just as we expected the word to advance and fall on, we had orders to retreat in the silentest manner possible, without the least touch of drum or trumpet. However, the enemy discovering it, came out, and did us some mischief in the rear, and would have done more, if Prince Rupert that commanded had not acted his part well. By what I could hear as the cause of this sudden change, the two marshals, Gastion and Ranso that commanded, could not agree on the work they had in hand.

I returned to Paris, and remained there, attending the Queen and Prince Wales's orders

(who were at St. Germans) 'till the year 1648; then I went for Ireland with the Marquess of Ormond, lord lieutenant, serving the king against the Nuncio, council, and other his majesty's enemies, 'till 1651, after the battle of Worcester was lost, and Cromwell conqueror of the three kingdoms, and the king fled into France, whither I followed, and with his majesty's leave, engaged in the Prince of Conde's service (then joined with the Spaniards) first, for a troop of Gens d'Arms, soon after for a regiment of horse; but neither were ever mounted, though I had the men ready in Paris, as was ordered.

Whilst I was thus, I came soon enough to the rampart to see some part of the fight in the suburbs of St. Anthony, which began early in the morning, July 2, 1652, the king of France looking on from the Hill of Saronne. The Prince of Conde hardly had time to baracado the avenues, where he was attacked by Monsieur de Jurain, commanding the king's army, with a force much greater than his; the fight was very bloody, and had been fatal to the confederates, had not the activity, besides the valour and conduct of this brave prince prevented it, by riding from barrier to barrier, where his men were most pressed. Thus he entertained the fight 'till about noon, that by means of Mademoiselle d'Orleans, the gate of St. Anthony was opened for their retreat into the city.

After this the confederates had all freedom in Paris 'till about the 12th of October 1652. The Prince of Conde, Duke of Lorrain, and the rest of the confederates left Paris, and that night came to their army at Dammartin, and took their march towards Lafeite, Moline, and Fines. I marched with them, though as a single man.

The first place the Prince of Conde took (these troops joined) was Ratele, which he besieged Oct. 27, 1652, took the out-works the 28th, the town the 29th, and the castle, November 2d, the governor, Monsieur Rale. Chasteau Porsine, was besieged at the same time, yielded October 28th, making little resistance: then St. Menehout was invested, the Prince of Conde and Duke of Lorrain commanding, and rendered November 13, 1652, St. Maurs commander. This place cost dear both in men and time, by the mistake of the true attack, which discovered, and the batteries changed, did not resist 12 hours.

About this time the Duke of Orleans' troops left us, the duke having made his peace.

November 23, 1652, the prince took Barleduke after some days siege, and a breach made, Monsieur de Fouge, lieutenant general of the Lorrain army, was there killed with a musket shot, viewing the breach. Comercy castle and town about the same time was surrendered to the prince without much trouble.

The castle of V oy d after some days siege was yielded, December 9, 1652, to the prince.

Now the Marshal de Turenne having gotten a good army together, came near us, and besieged Barleduke, which in a few days he regained; and whilst this was doing, surprized the town of Comercy, where myself, with many others, were taken prisoners; but the Count de Fiesque, who commanded, being in the castle, maintained it. Monsieur Marole, governor of Tunvile, who did this feat, the next day brought me to the quarters of Monsieur de la Ferte, who gave me leave on my parole to visit the Duke of York, in the quarter of Monsieur de Turenne. His Royal Highness at my request got me to be exchanged, so I re-

turned to the prince, and the officer exchanged went to the marshal de la Ferte, of whose army he was; this campaign ended with our having taken Veruience, after a breach made, which was the 29th of January 1652.

April 23, 1653, the Prince of Conde arrived in Brussels, and was lodged in the palace. The campaign following, September 5, 1653, we besieged Roeroy; the 7th the line of circumvallation was begun, and finished the 11th; the trenches opened the 12th; the Spaniards, Italians, and Germans had each an attack; the 22d, the three nations were lodged on the counterscarp. Sharp sallies were made, with some loss to the besiegers; however, they held their ground, and fasten'd a mine to one of the bastions, which mine was ready to spring the 26th. The next night the mine was sprung, and a breach made in the face of the bastion, something too near the point; however, our people lodged themselves, and the enemy retrenched in the bastion; but not being able to make it good, the garrison, much weakened with the loss of men killed and hurt, October 1, 1653, the place was rendered. I never knew bombs annoy any place so much as this. From the first day of this siege to the last, nothing but rain, with ill weather; and that which was worse, the Prince of Conde desperately sick all the time; However, tho' he lay in his bed, nothing of consequence was done but by his advice; tho' the Archduke Leopoldus commanded in chief. The governor of the place was the chevalier Montague, who, as I remember, was brought out wounded. The Duke of Lorrain's troops, commanded by the Count of Luniville, assisted in this siege; at which the Duke seemed to be ill pleased, for he was angry with Luniville, and rebuked him severely,

February 26, 1654, the Duke of Lorrain being in Brussels, and his army near the town, was arrested by the Count de Garrisie (master de camp general), so ordered by the Archduke Leopoldus, and conveyed to the castle of Antwerp: but Prince Francoys of Lorrain being at Vienna, was sent for, which appeased the officers, especially when he arrived at Brussels, which was the 9th of May following. All this time, besides the quality of marchal de camp, I had the particular command of nine or ten regiments of Irish, making 5000 men; and the campaign coming on, the Prince ordered me to make a detachment of 1000 of the choicest men I had, dividing them into fifties, commanded by lieutenants; only one fifty might have a captain, and then to deliver them to the Count de Briole, marshal de camp, which I did, tho' with much murmur of the colonels and other officers, concluding never to see their men again, which fell out true, being to be sent as far off as to Clermont, Stenay, and other places.

Next campaign began with the king of France's besieging Stenay, which he did June 9, 1654. The Spaniards thought to raise this siege by attacking another place, and besieged Arras, investing it on the 3d of July 1654, monsieur Moudieux governor; the lines of circumvallation finished the 9th, not so large by two leagues as when the French took it; the 12th or 13th the trenches were opened, tho' the chevalier de Crequi, with some hundreds of horse had entered the town. The 6th or 7th of July some other attempts were made to put in succour, but none hit to any purpose. It is certain our army was no way provided or sufficient for the work, to man so large a line, and furnish the attacks; which were two, one of the Spaniards, the other the Prince of

Conde's. The Lorrainers, commanded by Prince Francoys, had no attack. The ground was such that the ditch of the line in most places could hardly be made of any depth; to supply which defect eight or ten rows of great holes were made before it, with stakes like pallisades beaten into them. Whilst we were now carrying on our attacks, with much art and valour, monsieur de Turenne, with a small army, posted himself at Montricporeux and Vittry, about a league from our line; almost in the way to Doway; from whence much of our provisions and other things came.

But when Stenay was yielded, being August the 6th, the Count de Camillie governor, and the Marquess de Fabert commanding the army that took it, the king with his army marched and posted himself near mount S. Aloye, not far from our line, so that in truth we were in a manner now besieged, but quickly put out of our pain. For soon after, being the 24th or 25th of August, an hour before day our line was alarmed round, attacked really in two or three places, and forced in a short time. Thus Arras was relieved, and our army retreated to Cambray; after this Quency yielded to the French, so this field ended.

I do not remember any thing remarkable that passed in 1655, but the 15th of June 1656, monsieur de Turenne invested Valenciennes; to the succour of which Don John, governor of the Low countries, having gotten his army together, marched; the Prince of Conde, with his army, joined; they posted themselves the first of July at Farnars, a league from the town, and very near the enemy's line, where they intrenched. June 28th, the French opened their trenches with two attacks from the two armies of Turenne and la Ferte. Much scuffling there was at this siege, between

the town and the enemy; many brave sallies were made, and as gallantly opposed; several works taken by the French and regained by the garrison. The governor, the Duke de Burnaville, caused sluices to be opened, which raised waters in the enemy's camp, and much hindered the communication between the two armies of Lorrain and la Ferte; 'till one morning before day, being July the 16th, Don John and the Prince of Conde fell on the enemy's line, alarming it on all sides, and where they attacked it really entered, though it cost much blood on both sides; many prisoners were taken of the French, one of which was the Marshal de la Ferte.—Valenciennes thus relieved.

July 21, 1656, the Spaniards and Prince of Conde invested Conde, Monsieur de Passage governor; August 8th, they finished their lines of circumvallation, and the place been vigorously attacked, was rendered August 17th.—Here ended this campaign.

The next field was begun by the same prince and army, besieging St. Gilaine, March 16, 1657, Monsieur de Schomberg, governor; the story is not worthy to be remembered, for the place was betrayed by some of the garrison, and so rendered March 22d. Soon after, being May 20, 1657, the Marshal de Turenne invested Cambray, and took his posts for the siege; but the Prince of Conde being at Boscu, near Monts, marched immediately with 4000 horse, and the 29th, in the evening, came near the enemy's camp; the next morning, an hour before day, fell on Monsieur de Turenne's quarters, broke through into the town and relieved it: however the French lost no courage, but the 26th of August following, besieged S. Venant, and about the same time Don John, the Duke of York, and Prince of Conde,

besieged Ardares; and for the better dispatch, the 28th they made a general assault, taking all the out-works and fastened mines to the walls in three places. But St. Venant yielding sooner than was expected, the princes were forced to raise the siege.

Mardike was besieged by the French, September 29, 1657, and taken in five days.

The next campaign began May 14, 1658, when the Marshal d'Aumont, attempting to gain Ostend by intelligence and surprise, was taken himself in his own net. The particular relation is pleasant; but it having been often printed, I'll let it alone: now though this marshal of France fell into this misfortune, Monsieur de Turenne did abundantly recover the honour. For the 24th of May 1658, he besieged Dunkirk, Don John, the Duke of York, and Prince of Conde, with all the force they could make, came to the succour, and it seems with confidence that Turenne durst not appear without his line, for otherwise they would not have come near so ill provided, most of their horse being gone to forage, or scattered up and down, and their cannon not arrived. But Monsieur de Turenne failed them; for knowing they came from Furnes, he marched to meet them.

On the Downs thus they encountered the 14th of June, 1658, and after much fighting, the honour of the field remained to the French. Yet the town held stoutly, though the succours were beaten; for it never capitulated 'till the 14th of July, that their brave governor, the Marquess de Lede, was wounded mortally, of which he died; so the town yielded the same day.

The French being in this humour of conquering, Monsieur la Ferte besieged Graveling the 27th or

28th of July, 1658 ; it capitulated the 28th of August, and was rendered the next day.

Soon after this the Prince de Lione, general of the horse for the king of Spain's army, being routed near Ipres, he with part of his horse saved themselves in the town, on which the French besieged them, and in four or five days the town was yielded, being September the 24th ; the prince and garrison, as I think, remaining prisoners of war.

October 27, 1658, the French took Comines, which made some resistance.

Now a suspension of arms, concluded May 9, 1659, being followed with the Pyrenean peace, signed November 17, 1659, put an end to the war which so long raged.

From this time there was no more war in this part of the world, 'till the king, after his restoration, brake with the Hollanders, and much fighting there was at sea ; in some of which I have been, though but a volunteer. Thus, and following the court, I passed my time till the year 1667, that the French invaded Flanders, the Marquess of Castle-Roderigo governor.

Thither by his majesty's command I went with 2400 men, a recruit for the old English regiment, of which I was made Colonel ; and about June 15, 1667, with some of them landed at Ostend, the rest soon following. These men were immediately thrown into towns, as Newport, Lille, Courtney, Oudenard, &c. But before my coming the King of France had seized Armentiers, Charleroy, Bergen, St. Wincke, Feurnes, Aeth ; and in four or five days after took Tourney, which resisted three days. 'Till about this time the Spaniards did not know themselves absolutely to be in the war ; for their troops often met the French

and parted as friends. Then Monsieur de Turenne besieged Doway July 1st, and had it the 6th.

July 18, 1667, Courtrey, with the citadel, was taken by the French, having made some resistance; but Oudesard at the same time made little or none.

August 5th, the king of France having for some days attempted the taking of Dermond, left it after the loss of many men, as reported: but the king soon after besieged Lille, opening the trenches before it August 19th. It yielded the 27th, after most of the out-works taken; the Count de Broy governor.

Now the Count de Marcine, master de camp general for the king of Spain, was at this time in Ipres with a considerable body of horse, and some foot, of which I had 6 or 700 of my regiment, he pretending to succour Lille. But on the news of its renditon he marched away with all his horse, hoping to recover Gaunt, but whether by reason of the ill ways and foul weather or other hindrances, came short; for the French horse and dragoons were gotten before him, and encamped near Mary-kirk, not far from the town, on Holland's side of the cut river that goes between Gaunt and Bruges; and the last of August, early in the morning (having no right intelligence of the enemy), fell in amongst the French horse.

Thus surprised and marching on dikes, he was forced to fight for it, and as men catched in this manner, after some dispute, was routed; many of his men and officers killed and taken prisoners; himself narrowly escaping. The French thus encouraged fell on Alost, midway between Brussels and Gaunt, and being assaulted, it was rendered September 9th or 10th, 1667.

Now to save what was left of the Low-countries, there was no other remedy (for army we had none) but by the mediation of the neighbouring princes to gain a suspension of arms, published March 6, 1668, and was to hold 'till the last of the month ; then there was a second suspension of arms, which began the 15th of April following, and was to last to the end of May. But the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded May the 2d following, which put an end to our trouble : for it cannot be called a war.

After this the Marquess of Castle-Roderigo stayed not long ; but the constable of Castile succeeded, in whose time all was quiet.

Since the peace of Aix, the Spanish Netherlands enjoyed a shew of quietness, 'till about October 4, 1673. Then at a meeting between the Count de Monterey, governor of the Low-countries, and the Prince of Orange, at a village near Antwerp, called Galmethat, within half a league of the Priory of Huyberguen, Spain was engaged in a new war against the French, both parties seeming inclined to a breach.

I do not know all the reasons, but for a long time each complained of infractions : the French, That the Spaniards had assisted the Prince of Orange in his attempt for the surprize of Charleroy, in which he failed, sent off their troops to man certain towns belonging to the states of Holland, as Boisleduke, Bergen-op-zoom, and other places ; that their troops were assisting the Prince of Orange in the taking of Narden near Amsterdam, &c. The Spaniards complained that the king's countries were eaten up and destroyed by the marching of French troops through them ; especially when the King of France with his army entered about Bruges and Gaunt, marching at

discretion, fearing no enemy 'till he came to Brussels, where he encamped on all sides several days. After this refreshment, he continued his march to Maestricht, which he besieged June 11, 1673, and took it the 30th. That the Prince of Conde had for several weeks lain with an army eating and destroying the country of Alost.

Now on the breaking out of this new war, the Marshal de Belfort, who commanded for the King of France and Holland, had orders to draw all his forces thence, and march to Maestricht.

This alarmed the Count de Monterey, fearing that he would take Ruyenond in his way. So he sent me to command there, being General de Battle. But the Marshal spared me, and picked up Erklanes, a small town two leagues from me seated on the Roer; being passed, he joined the Prince of Conde near Maestricht, and alarmed Stevenswert, a regular place and tenable, when there is no want within it; I in an hour's time, received two orders from the Count de Monterey, brought by two reformed officers, sent express, requiring me, on sight, to march with the Count of Mansfield and 500 of the Germans, in garrison with me, and to endeavour the getting into Stevenswert, where I was to command, and if I were worsted in the attempt, to save myself, and such as remained after the fight, to Venlow. I received these orders as I was at dinner, about one of the clock, and got into the place with my men by six of the clock in the evening, though it were 3 or 4 leagues, for the place was not invested as the Count de Monterey thought; however these armies kept us in doubt four or five days, 'till at length the Prince of Conde having taken the castle of Argento, they besieged Newliney May 20, 1674, a fort belonging to the King of Spain, on the river

Meux, seated between Liege and Maestricht : it was rendered May 23d. After this the Prince of Conde having trifled some time in marching up and down, came with his army to Pieton, a strong post in its nature, by reason of the meeting of the two rivers Samber and Pieton ; but withal, he was strongly intrenched, and had much cannon on his batteries and cavaliers.

About the 15th of July 1674, Dinant with the castle was surprised by the Imperialists, commanded by the Count de Souch ; and July 22d following they passed the Meux near Namur, to join the Prince of Orange and other the confederates.

Now all being together, after several campings they came to Nivell, hoping to draw the Prince of Conde from his intrenchments to a fair battle, shewing themselves in battle before him. Several days past thus. Then they marched from Nivell, August the 9th, and the next day encamped at Seneff, Jeluy, and other places thereabouts. All this while the enemy never appeared, though by coming near many occasions were offered. Seeing nothing could prevail, August 11, 1674, the Prince of Orange, with the confederates, very early in the morning marched off, intending to encamp between Marymont and Binch. But being to pass within a little league of the enemy's camp, they made a detachment of 5000 horse and dragoons, for the better security of the rear. In the march the Imperialists had the van-guard, the Hollanders the battle, the Spaniards consisting of sixteen squadrons of horse ; the rear guard now having marched some time in this manner, about ten or eleven of the clock in the morning, being Saturday, the enemy began to appear, attacking the river, and though well disputed, carried all before them for some hours, 'till the Germans turned, and

joined with some of the Holland army not broken, gave a stop to this furious beginning, and brought it to a bloody battle. Both sides bragged of victory, though neither had much cause. The fight ended Sunday morning, and that night the confederates encamped where they were to have been the night before. And the Prince of Conde returned to his retrenchment at Pielton.

The Prince of Orange being a stranger, and having left himself and army to be guided by a general that pretended to know the country, was brought so near the Prince of Conde's retrenchment, that in going off his rear was exposed, and so accordingly it was attacked. But next day after the battle the prince complained much, and fell very heavy on the general who advised this march, but it was too late.

These were the most powerful armies that had been seen in Flanders these many years. I believe the confederates did much surpass in number, though the Prince of Conde's army, in most men's judgment, exceeded 40,000 horse and foot. The report of the slain and wounded is various, but they may be taken at 8 or 10,000 of both sides. I know not which lost most; but the quality exceeded the number. Amongst many other brave men were slain the Marquess de Assentor, master de camp, general for the Spaniards, and Sir Walter Vane, major general, serving the Hollanders.

The Prince of Orange after this battle of Seneff, lost no time; for September 17th following, he had formally besieged Oudenard (the Sieur de Rospaine governor) and having much advanced his trenches, had notice of the Prince of Conde's approach, with his army increased, the Marshal de Humer's having joined to him 8 or 10,000 men. On this the confederates drew most of their men out of the

attacks, but remained within the line until the next morning, and then with the favour of a dark mist, quitted all, left the siege, and got to Gaunt, I know not how, but certainly in great confusion, after the loss of many men. Much blame was laid on the Count de Souch; whether he were faulty or no, he soon with his army returned for Germany, and the Prince of Orange posted for Grave (long besieged by general Ravenholt, a Holland commander) and took it. About October 22, 1674, the army of the States General left Flanders, and returned to their country.

The king of France began his compaign the year 1675, with the siege of Limburgh. The Prince of Orange and Duke of Villa-Hermosa, then governor of the Low-Countries, assembled their armies near Lovain, and marched in all haste to its succour, though in miserable weather. They passed the Meuse at Roermond; but before they could arrive at the enemy's camp, the place was yielded, June 20th, after a very good defence, the Prince of Nassau governor of it, and the province.

The army of the confederates, much shattered and in disorder with so terrible a march, being returned to Aerscot, encamped there, and near about, for a long time, 'till being well refreshed and recovered, they began their march towards Monts; Binch, without the armies coming to it, yielded to a party sent by the Prince of Orange, August 31, 1675.

The campaign of the year 1676 began with the King of France besieging Conde, which he did April the 19th. The Prince of Orange and Duke de Villa-Hermosa marched to its succour; but coming near, found it rendered the 25th of the same month, not being able to resist longer the several assaults the French made.

The King of France not contenting himself with Conde, sent his brother (the Duke of Orleans) and the Marshal de Crequi to besiege Bouchain, which they did May 5, 1676, and the king to cover the siege encamped at Keverine, facing towards Monts, the river before him. On this intelligence some days after, the Prince of Orange and Duke de Villa-Hermosa, being with their army encamped near Monts, marched, and on bridges of boats, before day, passed L'Escaulte, within cannon shot of Conde, leaving it on the left hand; and not losing time, about ten or eleven of the clock that morning, being May the 9th, gained the height between Valenciennes and the abbey of Boné Esperance. But coming there, we found the King of France on a height embattelling his army before us, about half a league distant, all plain between the two armies, and just in the way between us and Bouchain; so near we were, that the cannon killed from one army to the other.

Thus posted, those that were not of the great council thought of nothing but immediately to fall on, and I myself was one of those; for it being my fortune that campaign to command the King of Spain's foot, I made many speeches to them, preparing them for battle, fitting them with powder, and all things needful. But the day past, we lay on our arms all night, and in the morning had orders to encamp, throwing up a line before us, Bouchain (Monsieur Drouhle governor) seeing this succour did its part; but at last, being overpressed, the place yielded the 12th or 13th of May; yet the king at the head of his army, stood facing us five or six days more, 'till Bouchain was put in order, and all lines and trenches levelled. Then the 19th of May, before day, after his drums and trumpets had done their parts, he marched off from

his camp at the farm of Hurtisbe, and that night encamped near Bouchain ; the next day marched for Doway. These were great armies, each counted at least 50,000 men, but whatever they were, I am assured they were not lessened by so long lying near neighbours.

After this the Prince of Orange marched from his camp of Mon d'Ans in near Valenciennes, May the 21st, and after several campments, came to Nivelle, from whence, the 8th of July, with a detachment of his army, and some others that met him, the 11th or 12th of July he invested Maestricht ; the 19th the lines of circumvallation were finished, and the 20th he began to make use of his cannon, opening his trenches by two attacks, one was the Bishop, Prince of Osnaburg's ; the other the Prince of Orange's own ; Wick on the other side of the Meuse, was not attacked.

Now while this siege was carrying on, the Duke de Villa-Hermosa marched with the army of Holland and his own, the 26th of July, to Marykirk near Gaunt ; and Aire having been besieged for some days by the Marshal de Humers, the Duke marched to Deinse, where he heard that the Fort Link was taken, and soon after Aire. The cause given why this strong place held out no better, is that a magazine of powder blew up by some accident ; on which the Burgers, (more strong than the garrison) seized the governor, the Marquess de Wany, and compelled him to demand a treaty.

This having broken the Duke's measures, for he designed to have ventured for the succour of Aire, his excellency marched immediately, following the Count de Waldike, who was gone before him with the Holland army, and encamped between Lovain and Brussels, his excellency encamped near Mechlin ; but August the 20th he left his camp, and in

some days both armies came to Tongres; and soon after appeared the van of the French army, so that he had no more time than to call a council of war, where having heard the relation given by Count de Waldike, newly come from the siege, not being above two leagues distance, unanimously all gave their opinions for the present raising the siege, and that the Duke and Waldike should let the Prince know so much: accordingly the next day the siege was raised, the enemy putting in succour.

The Prince then drawing off, all our enemies being joined, were put in battle on a height, about half a league from the line. But monsieur de Schomberg having relieved the place, marched another way, and encamped that night on the hill of St. Peter's. I was in the trenches before the siege was raised; but did not judge the town so pressed as was generally said, without it had some want within that I knew not; for there were many hard pieces to be gained before miners could be fastened to the wall, or any attackable breach made with cannon.

This was by much the bloodiest siege that ever I saw. The Reingrave, with a great part of the men that made the Prince's court, were killed, and more hurt; the Prince himself shot in the arm; all the regiments strangely diminished; the cannon was lost; for coming from Holland by the river of Meux, when it was pretty full, now it being much fallen, it could not be brought off. By what I saw of the line of circumvallation, I would rather have chosen to fight in a plain field than behind it; for it was not of strength sufficient; neither was the army of force to man it, and go on with their attacks, without the Prince had drawn into his line the army commanded by the Duke

de Villa-Hermosa and Waldike. That possibly might have changed the scene, tho' the communication would have been very hard between them of Wick-side with those before Maestricht, because of the river Meux, which above and below must have been passed on the bridges of boats: from the first of the siege I never heard the garrison counted at less than 5 or 6000 men. I shall not venture to give a judgment of the men killed and wounded; but certainly the number was great.

The dividing the army was in my opinion ill advised, neither party being of strength to do the work designed for it, whereas united it might have either carried Maestricht, or hindered the taking any other place. And for all the Prince's exposing himself and army to the utmost danger, yet some there were that did not afford him a good word, but the contrary.

After the raising this siege the Prince of Orange sought by all means to engage the French in a battle; yet about September 7, 1675, monsieur Schomberg passed the river of Mahaine in the view of our right wing uninterrupted, but the Prince was in the left wing, near a league distance, and hardly knew any thing 'till all was past. About three days after, the Prince and Duke de Villa-Hermosa encamped the army above Giblow, the quarter of the court in the town, and monsieur de Schomberg with his army, about a league from us, in a fast country, but very great plains just before him. The next morning early the Prince put his army in battle on this plain, in sight, and very near the enemy, but Schomberg stirred not.

Now after some hours wearied with standing, the Prince with his army marched off, leaving

the Spaniards and Germans in the rear ; which soon after that began to move, monsieur Montal, with a great body of horse and dragoons, marched thro' Giblow, from whence we parted, and fell on in the flank and rear, doing some mischief, causing great confusion among us. And had this party been well seconded by monsieur Schomberg, it might have proved a second Seneff; for the Prince of Orange with his army was far off, and many of his horses gone to forage. In a day or two after the Prince went for the Hague, and the Duke de Villa-Hermosa with Waldike marched to Wawer, in order to put an end to the field of 1676.

This year 1677, the field opening with the Count de Nancres attacking the fort, called the Three Holes, near Vilverde, on the cut river that goes between Brussels and Antwerp; but was beaten off the 24th of February.

The 6th or 7th of March Valenciennes, was besieged by the King of France; he opened his trenches the 9th, and the 17th the town was taken by surprize, about nine of the clock in the morning. The story is strange; for half an hour before this accident, and the 8th day the trenches opened, the enemy had not gained a foot of ground; the French entered by the gates, which they found open, for the governor, the Marquess of Risburge, a brave soldier, was in his bed dangerously wounded, and the town was governed by a council of war. Thus encouraged, the King besieged Cambray about the last of March following, and the 3d or 4th of April the town yielded, after the garrison, by orders of the governor, had killed all their horses, being as I have heard near 1000, then with the governor they retired into the citadel, which was fiercely

attacked; but the King having a mighty force, divided his army, and with one part his brother, the Duke of Orleans, besieged St. Omers March 28, 1677. On which the Prince of Robeck, governor, sent pressing letters to the Prince of Orange (then encamped in the Pais de Wast near Gaunt) to hasten to his succour.

The prince of Orange on this, and his great zeal for the service, did what he could to put his army in order, having none but his own with him; and the 11th of April, after hard marching, coming to Castles, found the Duke of Orleans had quitted the line to meet him, and was in battle before him. Then the two armies engaged, and the battle was well fought on both sides for a long time; but the detachment sent from Cambray by the king of France turned the scales.

This, together with the Prince's fighting on ground he knew not, and where he met with rivers and defiles or narrow ways that he never heard of, was the cause of his overthrow.

Soon after this (April 17th) the citadel of Cambray was rendered, Don Pedro Saval, governor of it and the town: and St. Omers, about the 28th of April following, was likewise rendered.

This did not abate the courage of the Prince of Orange; for August the 4th following (almost in the view of as good an army as that he commanded) he besieged Charleroy, a place seated on the river Sambre, strong by nature, and fortified with all the art imaginable, a garrison of 4 or 5000 men, a brave governor, the Count de Montal, no want within, but rather abundance of every thing; very hard to make a good line of circumvallation, for besides the rockiness of the ground, one part of it must be commanded by

a hill, that could not be secured but by an army without, near as strong as any that might come for the relief; a great wood that runs several leagues in length, and in breadth near half a league, joins to this line; thro' this there are great ways or lanes cut, where two or three squadrons might march in breast: but the stumps and some fallen trees remain still, so that horse or man could hardly pass but in paths; the place not attackable but on one side, by reason of the Sambre that runs by it, which must be passed by bridges of boats, the communication very difficult.

Thus the Prince lay besieging this place, while the Duke de Villa-Hermosa with an army was encamped on the said hill, till the Duke of Luxemburgh came with his army, and encamped within little more than cannon-shot of the wood; in a great plain over against our camp, I mean that camp commanded by the Duke de Villa-Hermosa, who lay without the line for the defence of the forementioned hill: On this encampment of the Duke of Luxemburgh, many councils of war were held by the great ones of the confederates: the Duke de Villa-Hermosa and the Spanish generals were for passing the wood, and engaging the enemy; but the Prince of Orange and his generals judged it not practicable, and further, impossible to succeed with the work in hand, this powerful army so near. Whereupon the Prince resolved to raise the siege, which he did in good order August 14, 1677.

The reason given by the chief confederate generals for advising or consenting to this siege of Charleroy, is, that for so many days both armies had been encamped near together in the country of Alost; but the French could not be brought

to a battle. Now the confederates finding themselves very strong, fell on this design, hoping to gain their end in besieging this important place, by the enemies coming to its succour.

This might hold pretty well if the confederates had pursued their point when the French came as they could wish; for the Duke of Luxembourg with his army passed the Sambre at La Busiere, and so kept on his march 'till he came to the encampment near the wood, which took up at least two days; in all which time he could not well have avoided fighting, if the confederates had sought it, by marching to meet them.

This failure is hard to be excused.—Much blame was laid on the Prince of Orange for not passing the wood, and attacking the French in their camp, which if he had done, according to all reasons of war, he had lost his army, for the French would never have given him time to have put his army in battle, but fight him by piece-meals as he appeared out of the wood. Besides his battalions and squadrons must needs have been disordered in their march thro' the wood.

The generals that were for fighting, alledged that the French, by reason of a little river before them, were so encamped that their right wing could not succour their left. But such an encampment is hardly credible, it being in a great plain where they had choice of encampment.

It was further given out, and spoken publickly, that the Prince raised the siege on some letter or message the King of England sent him, and brought by the Earl of Ossory. Now to my own knowledge, and to the view of all the army, the Earl of Ossory came to the Prince some days before Charleroy was invested, so that this mes-

sage or letter might have prevented the siege rather than to have raised it. Besides, if the King of England, moved by interest of state, should have sent such letter or message, is it to be imagined that he would have employed the Earl of Ossory, who was one of the bravest men of his time, and if he had a fault, too fond of glory? Thus you see in what ill station the Prince of Orange was.

As we returned from this siege the 24th of this month, Binch fell into our hands, and in a day or two after we took la Buthire, but with some shot of cannon.

Soon after this, September the 10th, the Duke of Luxemburgh attacked the fort called the Three Holes, near Vilvoid. The attack began about ten in the morning, and the night ended it; there were not in it above sixty men, commanded by one captain Carpenter; he and they got much honour, and the French went off with loss of some men.

The Prince of Orange being in England or at the Hague, I know not whether, the marshal de Humiers besieged St. Guilain. The Duke de Villa-Hermosa, now commanding in chief, for monsieur Waldiske, with the Holland army, was to obey his orders, marched for its succour; but coming in sight, found the place yielded, or treating, it being the 10th or 11th of December. The French resolving to give little rest, the King fell on Gaunt the 9th of March 1678, and had it the 18th; the castle held out two days more. The reason that Gaunt made little resistance was, it had no garrison for so great a place; the Burgers did what was done.

The King from Gaunt marched to Ipres, it having been restored to the Spaniards upon the

Pyrenian peace, and besieged it, opening the trenches before both town and citadel the 18th and 19th of March 1678 ; and as it had a brave governor, the Marquess de Conflant, so it was well defended ; but being vigorously attacked, the citadel good for nothing, and many things wanting in the town, March the 27th it was yielded.

The French left no stone unturned for gaining of places ; for a party sent from Maestricht the 4th of May 1678, in the night surprized Leewe, a very strong and important place, not far from Lovain. Since the taking of St. Guillian by the French, Monts had been very closely blocked, and so much streighten'd, that if not speedily relieved it must yield, having many wants within. On this the Prince of Orange and Duke de Villa-Hermosa resolved to attempt its succour : And having gotten a good army together, marched, and arriving near Soigne, the Duke of Luxemburgh with his army retired before them towards Monts ; but coming within a league or thereabouts, encamped himself on a large heath, with the valley of Castio before him, his back towards the town.

The confederates coming near this valley, and in full view of the enemy's camp, the valley only between the two armies, the Prince of Orange put his army in battle on two lines ; the Spanish forces had the right wing, the Duke de Villa-Hermosa commanding it ; the army of the States General the left, which the Prince of Orange commanded.

Now before I speak of the fight, which was altogether in the valley or on its edges, I must describe the valley. Of its length I saw no end, but its breadth from one side to the other could

not be less than a mile over, and of a great depth; in the bottom runs a little river, and the sides of the valley very steep, rocky, and full of wood; no way thro' it where more than 20 horses may pass one after another, and that by turnings and windings; the abbey of St. Dennis is seated in it, but so low, that it is not to be seen 'till you come over it. On the other side of the river, almost opposite to St. Dennis, comes in a neck of land, all plain, where the enemy had a little camp. The old burnt castle of Castio is about two miles from St. Dennis, seated in the valley, and on the same side, but on a height, as high as the main land, and very near the edge of the valley; both these places on our side, but possessed by the enemy.

The fight began about one of the clock after dinner, with the Prince's planting cannon against those encamped on the advanced neck of land, and soon after fell on St. Dennis, which was well manned, and had many battalions sent from the camp on the height, and the French army to assist it; but St. Dennis being of no strength, was quitted, and after much fighting, the French battalions retired to the height, the Prince's people pursuing; yet the fight continued, and bloody doings there was. About the same time the Duke de Villa-Hermosa fell on Castio, and after much resistance, both from those within and the several battalions sent from the French army to its assistance, took it; yet the fight continued very warm in the valley, supplies of battalions coming from both armies to help theirs.

Thus it held till towards the evening; then the French regained Castio, and their battalions, under its covert, did not only advance to the edge of the valley on our side, but formed two

or three battalions on the plain. The Earl of Ossory, who commanded the foot opposite to them, did what was possible to be done, with great killing on both sides, losing most of his officers, either killed or wounded, and himself preserved by his arms.

While this was acting, and the day almost ended, two or three squadrons of French horse, sent from the army, crossed the valley, and coming up one after another, between the castle and their battalions, on a sudden, and not expected, fell on the Duke de Villa-Hermosa's guards, killing one of their captains, with several other officers and soldiers, putting the rest in great disorder.

The French horse having done their work, and seeing more squadrons advancing towards them, they retired by the way they came; yet the fight continued 'till it was dark, and more than an hour after by the light of some houses near Castio, set on fire by the French. But there being no more houses to burn, all was quiet, the French possessed of Castio, and the battalions keeping their ground on the plain of our side, where most of the fighting had been. But about two or three hours after, intelligence was brought that the French had not only quitted Castio, and drawn off their battalions, but had left their camp, and were marched towards Monts, and it was in great haste, for they left some tents and other things behind.

The Earl of Ossory, in this afternoon's work, purchased to himself and noble family immortal honour, commanding the English, as general in the States service, and was, as I believe, the last man of all his troops that came off the field: for

he was found by some of my servants, and brought to me two hours after all was ended.

The Duke of Monmouth was all along in this fight, and gained as much honour as was possible for a single man, he being but a volunteer. And I am apt to believe, that if some squadrons had charged as he desired them, that the French horse that routed the Duke de Villa-Hermosa's guards, would have passed their time but scurvily in their retreats. His friend and companion, Sir Thomas Armstrong, was shot in two or three places. It is hard to say what number of men were slain, or who lost most. I judge them on both sides to be about 4 or 5000 killed and wounded; among which were a number of brave officers.

The next day, being August the 15th, there was a suspension of arms, and ratified the 20th of the same month. Thus, with suspension of arms we continued, 'till the general peace, signed at Nimeguen September 17, with the ratification of it the 21st of September * 1678, put an end to the wars, tho' it was said, and generally believed, that the generals of both sides had the peace in their pockets when they fought; at least they had sufficient ground to believe it concluded.

* Observe that the several Dates of time in this Appendix are to be taken Stilo Novo.

OBSERVATIONS.

CONFEDERATE armies joined, and acting together, though under one generalissimo, are not to be esteemed equal with the army of any prince, commanded by one general, if the armies are near in strength and quality.

I. All generals of the army that composes this confederate body, will expect to be consulted by the generalissimo in every undertaking, that nothing may be done without their consent.

Now the bringing together these generals, as it takes up much time, so often there follows great debates; and whilst this is doing, the enemy's army passes a river or defile, and sometimes puts a convoy into a place that needs it.

As for the succouring a town that is besieged, where expedition is required, there is no more comparison in the speedy marching of these two armies, than the sailing of a single ship and a fleet. For if any of these generals do not cordially like the undertaking, as seldom all do, though they have in point of honour consented, the general's army will come slowly to rendezvous, and then march with great formality; drawing up at every

turn, making many halts, and go over foot-bridges rather than through a ford, where his men shall not be up to the knees, and might march ten a breast, and twenty other excuses that I have seen. And many times these generals do in a manner refuse the orders of the generalissimo ; but still cover it with some excuses. Besides, every general hath private instructions from his own prince. On this I conclude, that princes leagued ought to act as much as possible with their armies separated.

II. Woe be to that people whose country is invaded, and their prince forced to bring in foreign assistance, far exceeding in force what he hath of his own troops. These, by what I have seen, are worse than enemies, set killing aside ; for from these last they seek to save themselves. But auxiliaries pretend to give safe-guards, but when the troops of another general comes, they slight this safe-guard. Thus the people refuged in villages, castles, and cloisters, with all their substance, are caught in their security ; and some times, as I have known it, does not rest with the loss of what they have, but pursued by many sacrileges and rapes, sparing neither religious women or others. And the army of the country, under the covert of these strangers being guides, do more mischief than the strangers. And some times this poor distressed prince, upon pressing occasions, sends his orders to some one or more of these generals to march, and they will make an excuse that they cannot get their men to it, 'till they have two or three months pay due to them, which must be sent if he will be served. Besides this, there are many examples where these auxiliaries have at length conquered the country they came to succour, and kept it to themselves.

III. The security of an army consists much in the generals having good intelligence, as well to avoid surprises as to take advantages when occasions are offered; for there is no army but sometimes in marching or camping is exposed to the enemy, if they knew all, and the time for taking their advantage.

IV. A general whose condition is to seek fighting, must be careful how he brings his army too near the enemy well posted, without he comes with resolution to force him in his camp, or that he can encamp so by him at his ease as the enemy must be enforced to march off before him. For otherwise, at his going off, he will run great risk of being dangerously attacked in the flank, rear, or both; especially if it be where there are defiles or rivers.

V. A general that marches with an army for the succour of a town, besieged by another as great, or near as powerful as that which he commands, if the enemy on his approach draws off, and puts himself in battle out of his way, or is marching clear off, the general having gained his point, is not to take notice of him, but without losing time to furnish the wants of the town, make up the breaches, destroy the lines and trenches made by the enemy. For if this general pursue, and in fighting have the better, 'tis but some addition to his glory; but if beaten, he loses his army, town, and honour: for an enemy may be willing to fight, having drawn off, which he dare not do, holding the siege.

VI. A general that fights an army of which he knows the strength, hath great advantage of another general that fights he knows not what, as it appeared in the battle of Castlet. For the Duke of Orleans might know almost to a man, with

what strength the Prince of Orange could come; but the Prince of Orange could not know that of him, whilst the king of France was so near, at the siege of Cambrai, who, with his whole army, might have joined the Duke of Orleans as easily as the detachment did.

VII. A general that hath his magazines fully stored with all necessaries, and well placed in order to his design, having the advantage of rivers, and no want of waggons, may well besiege a town seated near those rivers, in all seasons of the year; and with more advantage in the winter, or rather in the spring, before there be forage, than afterwards. For the enemy that might be feared to march for the succour, must have time to bring his army together, and then not having the conveniences of rivers, be forced to bring all his provisions by land in waggons. And it is almost impossible, if his magazines and country be far off, to supply his army with forage, being to be brought at so great a distance. And if the army with this winter doing be weakened and shattered, the sieges being over, and forage coming in, it will soon recover, or at least be able to make a defensive war for the preservation of towns that must be attacked in form, and then towards the latter end of the year, being recruited and recovered, act again.

VIII. An army marching and making halts whilst ways are mending, or bridges making, is not without apprehension and danger, if the enemy's army be not far off. To avoid this, when the general hath taken his resolution to march, and by what way, and in how many columns or lines, he immediately sends trusty and knowing officers with a good escort of horse and foot with pioneers to mend and make clear the ways for the march,

and if there be rivers, boats for bridges ; then putting good guides with the officer commanding each line, he marches without interruption. But great care is to be taken that the lines march equal, and not too far asunder, that so they may (in case of an alarm) be found, or put easily in order of battle.

IX. Troops pressed in fight do incline much to crowd in one upon another ; so that if you have not field room it is hard to untangle and put them in order. In that case, sometimes it may be wished that half the number were away.

X. In battles it ought to be held as an undoubted maxim of war, that a wing of horse beating the enemies opposite wing, is not to move one foot in the pursuit, but to keep its first order ; and if the rout be such that the enemy ought to be pursued, let it be done by detachments or commanded men ; and if the battle be gained, no plundering 'till all be secured.

XI. I do not absolutely reject battles : for in some cases they are to be sought ; and in others, though a general do not seek fighting, yet he must expose his army to battle, if the enemy will. But certainly it is a matter of great consideration, especially when a country is invaded ; for the loss of a battle is many times the loss of a kingdom : and let a general be never so great a captain, having ranged his army in the best manner, and given to his officers all good orders ; yet when the armies are once engaged, he can act little more than one man's part, and is subject, by the failure of many others, to be overthrown.

XII. Towns are for the most part besieged because of defects in their fortifications, or wants within, as men, ammunition, or provisions, &c. so as to keep out these reliefs, as also to fence the

quarters a line of circumvallation is necessary; and till it be put in defence neither horse nor foot are to pretend any rest, or any trench to be opened. But when all is done, if a considerable army come to post itself near this line, if it be not very good and well flanked, with a good ditch and parapet, no ground to command it, and men sufficient to man it besides those in the trenches, carrying on the attacks, it is better to hazard a battle in the plain field than to fight behind such a line. For the enemy lying by you is commonly strongly posted, will annoy your convoys and foragers; if this will not make you raise your siege, and if the town be worth it, he will take his time to attempt your line by force, and begins commonly an hour or two before day, alarming you round; falls on with some false attacks, and two or three real ones. Your line is often fifteen or twenty miles about; and if a river runs by the town, as for the most part there does, this line is divided, and so your army has no communication but by bridges of boats; and in this case, it being dark, none goes to help the other; but every one stands to defend his part of the line, none knowing where the real danger is but he that feels it. And if there be a *camp volant*, with the general, he may with it march wrong as well as right: and the enemy once entered, usually all quit the line, and seek to save themselves; and it is hard to put them in any order of battle to resist; so that all can be hoped for is to make a reasonable retreat. Now in case the enemy fail in their attempt, they run little or no hazard: for they retire before it be full day, and those within the line dare hardly pursue 'till parties are sent out in the morning to discover returns. Now if you draw out, and fighting, gain a battle, though a relief, whilst you are engaged, slip into the place, those

within seeing their succour beaten, lose courage, and in all likelihood will give you little trouble before they render.

XIII. A general coming before a town with a design to besiege it, must be well informed of all things within and without before he opens his trenches. For I have seen by the mistake of the true attack much time trifled away, with the loss of many lives, and I think once with the defeat of the whole army.

XIV. A general that in a retreat brings his army to attempt the passing a river or great defile, an enemy's army being near, or in view, runs too much hazard, if it be not by necessity, and then he is blameable to have brought it to the extremity.

XV. The passing of defiles and rivers may be attempted, an enemy's army near, or looking on, in certain cases; as for the succour of a town or breaking into an enemy's country to conquer. The reason of this is chiefly grounded in the difference of men's courage and resolutions in attacking, or being attacked. For as a retreat looks something like running-away, especially to the common soldiers, so advancing raises them to confidence of overcoming. Store of cannon in this case is of great use; but a general having passed with his army these rivers or defiles, and being to return the same way or by other rivers or defiles, must be careful to leave the passes well secured for his retreat; otherwise, after all, if the enemy seizes the passes or defiles behind him, he may in part, or in the whole, lose his army. Now as the passing of rivers and defiles are dangerous, so there ought to be great consideration in the opposition, and not to put wholly the fortune of a weaker army upon it. For if the enemy force the pass, in all likelihood you

shall be beaten. Wherefore in this case, if you will oppose, put your army in battle as much covered from cannon as you can, improving the enemy's disorder, what you may, and as they arrive on your side of the pass, charge, not suffering them to form.

XVI. Great advantages in war are rarely offered, and for the most part soon past. Wherefore, though patience and circumspection are virtues in a general, or chief commander; yet they ought to be watchful, and hold their troops so ready that they may not lose the critical minute or preeious moment; it being of so much importance in war, that the like peradventure may not happen in the life of a man. I have seen myself on two or three occasions, a victory gained, that if one quarter of an hour had been omitted in the attempt, the fortune of the day, in all likelihood, had gone quite contrary to what it did. The cause is clear, and found by experience. For though man in his reason be the most excellent of all creatures on earth; yet having lost it by the passion of fear, is one of the least; and fear doth sometimes seize men, being in surprize to such a degree, that they know not what they do.

How many men in beating up quarters and routs are slain, not daring to turn their faces to make resistance; though the very same men being in their judgments, in divers occasions had carried themselves formerly well enough.

XVII. No merchant ought to be more exact in his books than a general in keeping accounts of the enemy's provisions, how they are brought to the army, and the days, that so he may take his advantage.

XVIII. A general must be very wary how he engages his army in the siege of a town, or invades

an enemy's country, chiefly relying on a party within the town, or a rising of the people in his favour. I have seen and known fatal consequences in both, even to the loss of armies; yet sometimes it hath succeeded. However, the offers of enemies, or of those that live amongst them, are still to be suspected.

XIX. A prince in time of war ought to be large in rewarding, and very severe in punishing. His general, whilst he is so, is to be absolute, and the prince not apt to hear complaints against him. That there be from the general even to the corporal, throughout the whole army, an entire and known subordination, that each may know whom he is to command, and whom to obey. Also, that the troops of the army may, as near as possible, be on the same foot, and paid alike.

Yet in the King of Spain's Netherlands, for what reason of state or war I could never learn, there are many important cases undetermined; as between generals de Battalia and governors of provinces, in the province under their government, who should command; the general de Battalia coming into the province with an army, or party, or with orders to command a town.

Of the national regiments, which are in those countries, few or none will give place to the other; from whence arise (sometimes) dangerous contests, even in the face of the enemy.

One general de Battalia will not obey another.

The same amongst masters de camps of foot, and colonels of foot.

Masters de camps of horse, and colonels of horse contest with those of the foot; as also amongst themselves.

Captains of horse and majors of foot contest.

In fine there is room left for dispute even among the common soldiers of several nations.

XX. The person of a successful general, beloved by the army, and in high esteem for his experience and conduct in war, is highly to be valued. For the soldiers believe that with this man they cannot be beaten, and with another of a contrary reputation, they are always in doubt. The same holds in proportion with the inferior commanders. I have seen the effect of this, both in armies and parties.

XXI. An army is more to be valued for its quality, and readiness to action, than for its number.

THE DEFECTS OF AN ARMY.

XXII. AS generals and other commanders not of reputation and experience in war.

The troops composed for the most part of new men.

The horse but ill mounted,

Neither horse nor foot well armed.

The officers, for want of pay, not valuing their employments; and the soldiers in a mutinous humour for the same cause,

DEFECTS AND WANTS IN THE ARTILLERY AND ITS TRAIN.

GREAT difference is to be made between victorious, and cowed, or beaten troops, till the latter be recovered by some good winter quarters, or other forces join them.

XXIII. A body of horse retired into a weak place is never to be thought safe, if an enemy's army be within a day's march of them ; for once invested they are all lost.

XXIV. Languishing sieges are to be avoided ; for tho' an army comes at first with much resolution and courage, and so holds it on for the time they think convenient for taking such a place ; yet when they see the general doth not advance the attacks as he ought, and they lose men by sharp sallies ; sometimes the cannon nailed, and the lodging of the night before broken down ; their convoys cut ; report of an army marching for its succour ; ill weather coming on ; and sometimes a small relief slipping into the town, which can hardly be avoided 'till a place be closely blocked up : these and many other accidents, which armies at a siege are subject to, make men cool, and often desert, to the weakening of an army ; that when the enemy's army appears, they will be found nothing of what they were at first. Therefore I conclude, that reasonable hazarding to make dispatch is the saving of men, and the surest way of taking a town.

XXV. The confederate armies commanded by the Prince of Orange as Generalissimo (most of them present at the battle of Seneff, and siege of Oudenard) were the Emperor's, commanded by the Count de Souch; the King of Spain's, commanded first by the Count de Monterey, afterwards by the Duke de Villa-Hermosa, both governors of Flanders; that of the States General, commanded by the Count de Waldeck; that of the Prince and Bishop of Osnaburgh's, by monsieur Lovigny; the Marquess of Brandenburgh's, by monsieur Spaune; that of Luningburgh and Zelle, by monsieur Chouet; and the army of Munster, by the Baron de Wedle.

POSTSCRIPT.

IT might with reason long since have been expected that I should have published something in my own vindication, having been extremely ill-treated in a long letter I received from the Earl of Anglesey, then lord privy seal, which letter his lordship soon after thought fit to expose to the view of the world in print; but my good fortune was that his lordship, by an unnecessary digression, fell foul on the duke of Ormond and others, for which being questioned, his lordship suffered in a high degree.

As to myself I shall only note three or four things; his lordship begins his letter to me, folio the first :

“ *My Lord Castlehaven,*

“ Having received your lordship’s letter of the
“ 24th current, with your printed Memoirs, which
“ you are pleased in some sort to entitle me to.”
—Here I must say how I came to send this letter
of the 24th current with the Memoirs.

The Earl of Anglesey, from his house near Oxford (I being in London), sent me a short letter, desiring me to send him one of my Memoirs: In answer to this I sent him that mentioned of the 24th current, all written with my own hand, telling him in it, that there was no such thing in nature as my Memoirs; but guessing at his meaning, I sent him one of the books I suppose he meant, telling him how it came into my hands, but disowning and protesting

against the * book. Now if my Lord Anglesey shall not think fit to produce this letter, being it will shew too much his fondness of writing ; yet I do undertake, when called upon, to make out by undoubted testimony, that I disowned those books when they first came to light, and protested against them.

Fol. 7 and 8, his lordship makes my story of two parts, as having served by the confederate catholicks commission 'till the cessation made with the Marquess of Ormond, concluded September 15, 1643 ; " All which time (saith he) your lordship was wholly of the rebels party, and under their pay and command." The second part ; " from that time 'till your lordship, finding the ill state of affairs in Ireland, was dispatched by the then lord deputy Clanrickard to set out the same to the king in France," which was in the year 51, tho' his lordship doth not mark it. Here this noble lord shews himself ill informed of what passed in Ireland in those days; for in the year 1644 it is notoriously known that I commanded an army in Ulster against the Scots, by commission from the confederate catholicks.

And the following year (1645) by commission from the same persons, I commanded another army in Mounster against my Lord of Inchiquin.

In page 8 he saith, " My lord, I am loath now to make my remarks upon this second part, because your lordship acted therein at times under the confederate Irish their commission, and under his majesty's authority at other

* A spurious edition, published in 1683, without his Lordship's knowledge, which induced him to publish the foregoing copy in a correct manner, under his own inspection, in the year 1684..

" times, and sometimes under both;" these assertions are so untrue that I wonder where his lordship hath picked up his information; for it may be seen on record, that I served by the confederate catholicks their commission 'till the peace of forty-six.

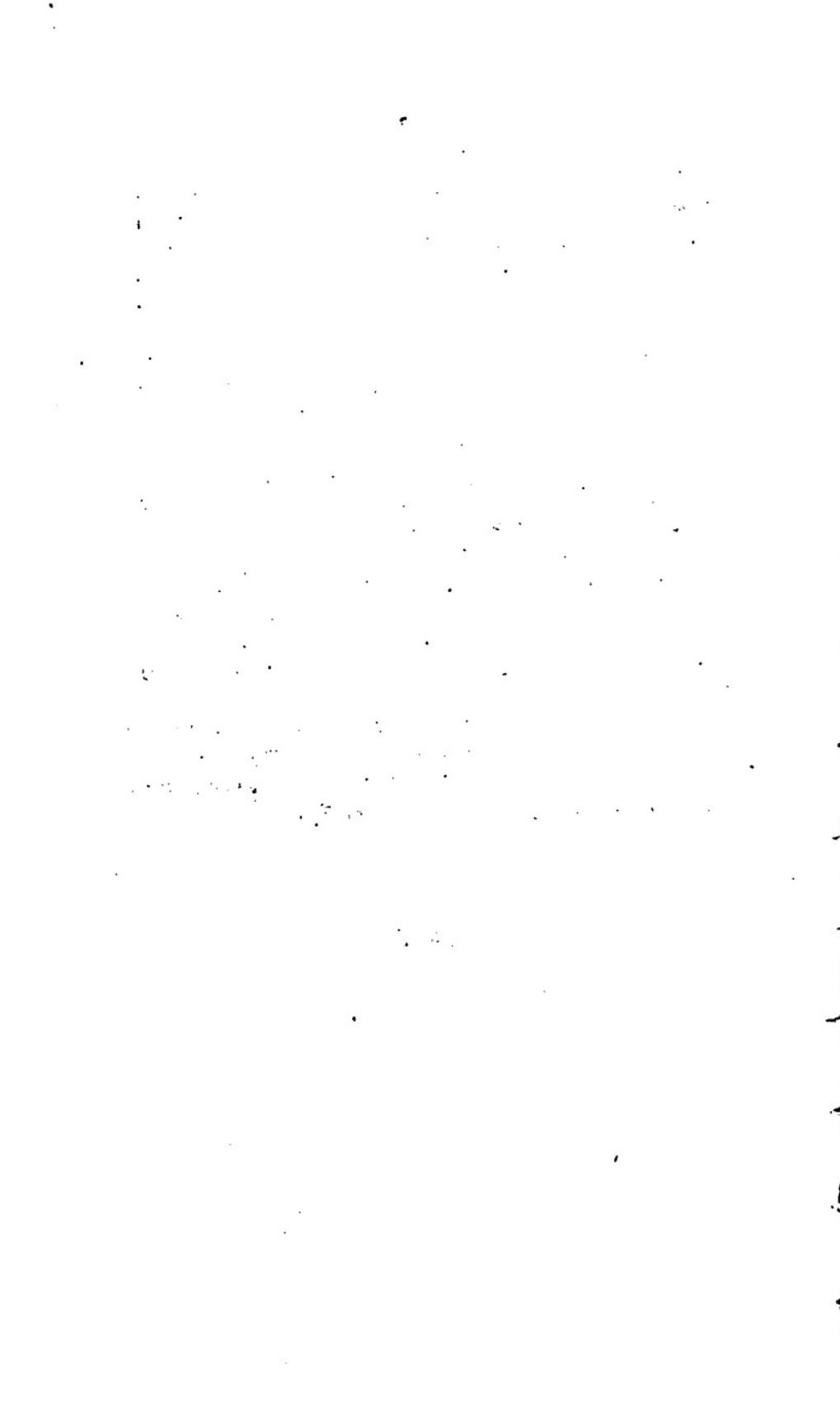
And having laid hold on the king's mercy, always since have owned no other authority but his, and am sorry for the time past.

His lordship speaks of " a feast which I had prepared for the Lord of Mountgarret and the rebels; but the Marquess of Ormond having gained the battle at Kilrush, eat that I could not keep from him."

Now this is as poor an aspersion as 'tis untrue, for the DUKE of ORMOND knows the contrary, so doth many more yet alive, for hardly could it be called a tolerable meal but to men that were hungry.

I shall trouble the reader with no more on this subject, but conclude,—That my Lord of Anglesey's long printed letter is all along subject to mistakes, speaking modestly,

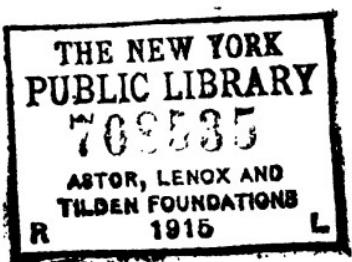
FINIS,



A
LETTER
FROM
A PERSON OF HONOUR IN THE COUNTRY,
WRITTEN TO THE
EARL OF CASTLEHAVEN:
BEING
OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS
UPON
HIS LORDSHIP'S MEMOIRES
CONCERNING
THE WARS OF IRELAND.

~~~~~  
LONDON:

PRINTED FOR NATH. PONDER, AT THE PEACOCK  
IN THE POULTREY, 1681.



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Dublin: Printed by Graisberry and Campbell,
10, Back-lane.

A

LETTER

WRITTEN TO THE

EARL OF CASTLEHAVEN.

My Lord Castlehaven,

HAVING received your Lordship's of the 24th current, with your printed Memoires, which you are pleased in some sort to intitle me to; and I will not conceal from your Lordship that I am not yet ashamed, now I have read them, though I cannot approve all in them, that I was the first incentive to your writing them, which was upon this occasion: Having sat along with your Lordship in Parliament, and observing for the most part such a consent between your Lordship and me in proceedings there upon the most abstracted principles of honour and allegiance, I could not but account of your Lordship as a true Englishman, and a loyal subject, whatsoever blemish your engagement under the confederate rebels of Ireland had before fixed on you; and having heard you so often pathetically declare yourself fully to mine and most honest mens minds, against the dangers of the growing greatness of the French and the too fast declension of the Spa-

niard, between which great powers of the world the crown of England was so happy and wise in former times as to hold and guide the ballance; and finding by your frequent, and as I could not but conceive, cordial expressions against the Pope of Rome's usurping authority in these dominions over and against his Majesty and kingdoms, to such a degree that you spared not, like a right ancient peer of this realm, often to say, that if the Pope himself should attack any of his Majesties dominions, you would be one of the first to labour his destruction, I was deservedly much delighted in your Lordship's converse; which having been often honoured with, both by your letters when in foreign parts, and your favourable society here at home, I was instrumental, as your Lordship well knows, to prevail with the Parliament to set a mark of great honour on your Lordship, by a special recommendation and intercession to his Majesty for a regard to and reparation of the breaches time and misfortune had made upon so ancient and honourable a family: And looking upon your Lordship as a Peer of most noble principles, and free of the worst part of bigotry, I could not but lament your leaving the Parliament, and still wish your return.

During our said converse, being engaged in the History of Ireland, to which I was the more inclined by an interest therein for several generations, my great grandfather, Sir John Perrot, having been deputy thereof, governing the same with great wisdom and success; my grandfather Annesley having been commander at sea in Queen Elizabeth's time, and one of the undertakers for land in Mounster, after the Earl of Desmond's rebellion; my father, the Lord Baron of Mountnorris and Viscount of Valentia (of whom I have

very often heard your lordship speak with great honour, and as your worthy friend) having faithfully served King James and King Charles the First near forty years in that kingdom, in offices and imployments of high trust; and I myself being a native of the city of Dublin, a diligent observer of the troubles there, wherein I had some share; and having both honours and lands descended to me in that realm; and knowing that your Lordship had heretofore a great part in the action there, and taking notice that no memorials I had yet seen did give a full account of your Lordship, whom as my own friend and my father's friend, I was willing to do right to in history, as far as I could; ever highly esteeming the bravery of your actions and wisdom of your conduct, as far as I had cognizance thereof, though I bemoaned the unhappy circumstances of your engaging under a power usurping over your own Prince, and incroaching royal power, which I find you cannot digest either the Pope or Duke of Lorraine should have done. I discoursed with your Lordship many of the most important designs, actions and traverses of fortune in Ireland since the fatal 23 of October 1641, and finding by your full relations, with a perfect memory thereof, that you were able to give help to history therein, I moved your Lordship (to which you friendly consented) that at leisure hours you would reduce to writing what you could remember, with as exact reference to time and order as you could recollect of pasages and exploits there, and that I might by your favour be possessed thereof: And I wish things had rested there, little expecting a formal relation in print, and much less so introduced before I had the perusal of it; for I must now acquaint your Lordship, that I did not,

after what I have above related, save now and then to your self, inquire after your Memoires promised me, till by a letter of the 16th of this moneth, from a hand I respect, I had notice he had seen them, and my censure thereon was desired, they seeming to him (after 28 years silence) to cast a calumny on the government then; and as he suspects, with no good intention, though he refers that to my opinion, knowing (as he is pleased to say) none to appeal to but me. Your Lordship sees now how you are engaged for want of commanding my service before the printers; and I am confident the heat of a battle would be less formidable to you then the paper warre you must expect to be assaulted with; wherein, if I be necessitated to have the least hand, your Lordship may be assured it shall be en gentilhomme & en amy, and chiefly with an aim to convince your Lordship of that which hath obscured the glory of your adventures and exploits or undertakings in that unfortunate kingdom; and therefore I forbear giving any opinion to my friend till I have vented my thoughts to your Lordship, which I shall now take the liberty to do.

Upon serious perusal of your book I find your Lordship's story of two parts; the first till the cessation of arms concluded by the rebels commissioners at Siginstowne with the Marquess of Ormond, Sept: 15, 1643; all which time your Lordship was wholly of the rebels party, and under their pay and command, which I wish your Lordship had not thought fit for the press, though there were some acts of souldiery bravery in it. The second part, from that time till your Lordship finding the ill state of affairs in Ireland, was dispatched by the then lord deputy Clanrickard to set out the same to the king in France; from whence,

though your Lordship procured a letter from his majesty to the lord deputy, and sent the same by a safe messenger, yet you returned not again, but engaged in the service of the Prince of Conde. My Lord, I am loath now to make my remarques upon this second part, because your Lordship's acting therein at times under the confederate Irish their commission, and under his majesties authority at other times, and sometimes under both. It will be fitter at present for me to be silent therein, than to attempt the unblending such a mixture, and separate your acts of allegiance from those of opposition to the king, which I must always blame you for; or to condemn you intirely, when some things your Lordship did were by full authority, though very fatal to the English protestant interest in that kingdom, and no ways advantageous to his majesty or his affairs.

But the first part of your story, which takes up three sections of your Memoires, I cannot let pass unanimadverted and corrected, without condemning the generation of the just; suffering blemish and calumny to lie upon his majesty and government, both in England and Ireland; and leaving your Lordship in a mistake of having done well, when I hope I shall evince that you did very ill, unless the gallantry of a souldier can expiate for all that was amiss. For this end I must take notice to your Lordship, that all I find you urge to satisfie your own conscience, or to vindicate your honour and integrity to the world, in this your engaging your self amongst the Irish, is to this effect: your Lordship saith, that at the first eruption of the rebellion (which you seem to tye to the North, but was universal) you acquainted the lords justices with your willingness to serve the king against the rebels, as your ancestors had for-

merly done in Ireland; but they replying, that your religion was an obstacle; there being then a parliament in that kingdom sitting, you were resolved to see the event, sending your brother to your house at Maddingstowne, in the county of Kildare, to secure and defend it, in case there were any rising in those parts. Sometime after the parliament being dissolved (but you do not mention that you attended your duty in parliament when it was sitting, and declaring against the rebels) your Lordship desired a pass from the justices to go to England, but they refusing, you acquainted them with the condition of your estate, and desired a supply of money till you could apply to the parliament of England for a pass to bring you over, which they denied. You pressed them then to direct you what course you should steer, to which they replied, go home and make fair weather. You took this advice, and being come, my Lord of Antrim, and my Lady Dutchess of Buckingham (both papists, and after that deeply engaged in the rebellion) soon followed (whether by concert with your Lordship is not said), and you were very well pleased with so good company. But in a short time the Irish came and drove away great part of your stock, which you recovered by a party sent out with your brother, who brought with him two or three of the chiefest conductors of that rabble. This enraged the Irish so much, as you conceived your brother was not safe there, and therefore sent him to Dublin to attend the justices orders, and assure them of your readiness to return on a call, they sending a convoy, which they promised to do as occasion required. But your Lordship hearing that you were indicted of high treason, and hereupon your brother addressing to the lords justices again, to

let them know that they had not kept their words with him, in suffering this clandestine proceeding against you (as your brother's letter calls it), you went to Dublin, and addressed your self to my Lord of Ormond, as your brother did in your behalf to the lords justices and council, to acquaint them with your coming; and upon your appearance before them they ordered you to come the day following, at which time, without calling you in, they committed you to Mr. Woodcock's house, one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. Your brother seeing (as he calls it) this rigorous usage towards you, and being refused a pass for himself to go for England, he got away to the king at York, and petitioned him that you might be sent over to be tryed here by your Peers. But his majesties answer was, that he had left all the affairs of Ireland to the parliament; upon which he petitioned the parliament to the same effect: their answer was, that they could do nothing without the king. After this your brother saith, he was continually serving his Majesty in England. Your Lordship once more placeth your self at Maddingstowne, whither you had at first retired by advice of the lords justices, and continued there some five or six moneths after in peace and quietness; but your Lordship doth not mention that other neighbouring places possessed by the English did so; or what intelligence your Lordship had with or gave to the state, but proceed to say, that in the mean while parties were sent out by the justices, from Dublin and the towns adjacent, to kill and destroy the rebels; and the like was done through all parts of the kingdom. But your Lordship adds, the officers and souldiers did not take care enough to distinguish between the rebels and subjects, but killed in many places

promiscuously; on which partly, and partly on other provocations that preceded, and some too that followed, the whole nation finding themselves concerned, took to arms for their own defence, and particularly the Lords of the Pale did so, who yet at the same time desired the justices to send their petition to the king, which was refused. And for their further discouragement, Sir John Read, his majesties sworn servant (a stranger to the countrey, unengaged, and an eye-witness of their proceedings, then upon his journey to England) prevailed with by them to carry their remonstrance to his majesty, and to beg his pardon for what they had done, coming to Dublin, and not concealing his message, was put to the rack for his good will. The said Lords having tryed this and other ways to acquaint the king with their grievances, and all failing, an open war broke forth generally throughout the kingdom. Your Lordship next takes notice of your accidental entertaining my Lord of Ormond at dinner, immediately after the battle of Kilrush, which you were a spectator of, being in sight of your house; but that some who came with him turned this another way, and publishing through the army that it was a mighty feast for my Lord Mount Garret and the rebels; this through the English quarters past for current: And you believe it was much the cause of this under-hand villainous proceeding (as you call it) against you fore-mentioned. Your Lordship proceeds to tell us, that after twenty weeks that you had remained in prison, you were ordered to be removed to the Castle of Dublin, which startled you, and brought to your thoughts the proceedings against the Earl of Strafford, who confiding in his innocence, lost his head: you concluded then that innocence was a scurvey plea in an an-

gry time ; besides, your Lordship looked upon the justices and most of the council to be of the parliament's perswasion ; wherefore you resolved to attempt an escape, and save your self in the Irish quarters, which your Lordship did, and give us a relation of the manner of it ; and how your Lordship took your way towards the mountains of Wicklow, where being come, you cared little for the justices, though before dinner your escape being discovered, on notice given to the justices, you were pursued by a party of horse, taking their way to your house at Maddingstowne, which they invested in the night ; but not finding your Lordship, after possessing themselves of what your Lordship had within and without, they killed many of your servants and burnt the house. Your Lordship kept on your way to Kilkenny, as much through the fast countrey as you could, till you arrived, where you found the town very full, and many of your acquaintance, all preparing for their natural defence, seeing no distinction made, or safety but in arms. To this end your Lordship saith, they had chosen amongst themselves, out of the most eminent persons, a council, and gave it the title of The Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland ; and formed an Oath of Association, by which all were bound to obey them. They had made four generals of the four provinces, Preston of Leinster, Barry of Mounster, Owen-Roe O Neil of Ulster, and one Burke of Connaught ; and being to give commissions, they caused a seal to be made, which was the seal of the council. Your Lordship saith, you were sent for to this council to tell your story, which you did. And being asked what you intended to do, you answered, to get into France, and so to England ; upon which they told you their condi-

tion, and what they were doing for their preservation, perswading you to stay with them, being your Lordship was beloved in the countrey, had three sisters married amongst them, was persecuted upon the same score they were, and ruined; so that you had no more to lose but your lives. You took two or three days to think of this proposition, examining the model of government they had prepared against the meeting of the general assembly, and most particularly their oath of association, which your Lordship judged to be very reasonable, as the case stood. On the whole matter you returned to this council, thanked them for their good opinion of you, and engaged your self to run a fortune with them. Whether anger and revenge did not incline you to it as much as any other consideration, you say you cannot resolve; but this you well remember, that you considered how you had been used, and seen your house burning as you passed by; besides, that you were a light man, with no charge, and not any hopes of redress from the king, who was then engaged in an intestine war. Now being thus a confederate, and having taken the oath, they made your Lordship one of the council, and general of the horse under Preston.

The assembly met the 24th of October, 1642. It differed nothing from a parliament, other then that the lords and commons sate together, and not in two houses.

This your Lordship saith, we see was a force put upon you, and you hoped in time, the storm being passed, to return to your old government under the king. You had many learned in the law amongst you, whom you encouraged to keep you as near the old government as might be holding to the ancient laws of the land.

That assembly, without delay, approved all the council had done, and settled a model of government viz. That at the end of every general assembly, the supreme council should be confirmed or changed as they thought fit; that it should consist of twenty-five, six out of each province, three of the six still resident.

The twenty-fifth was your Lordship, with no relation to any province, but to the kingdom in general. Every province had a provincial assembly, which met on occasions, and each country had commissions for apploating money within themselves, as it came to their shares, upon the general applotment of the province. Many other things there were as to government. If a letter came to them written in Irish, it would be wondered at, and hardly could one be found to read it. You say you were not in case to bring to justice those that begun the rebellion. But you never saw any of them esteemed or advanced. The general assembly being put off, the generals fell to their work, and your Lordships general took in Burras, fort Faulkland and Byrrh, in the King's county, where you were with him. Your Lordship was also with this general the 18th of March, 1642, when he was beaten at Ross by the Marquess of Ormond; and by Colonel Monk, since Duke of Albermarle, at Timachoo, in the Queen's county, the fifth of October, 1642. Yet afterwards he besieging Ballynekill, in the same county, you ventured once more with him; where he having intelligence that Major General Crawford was besieging Ballybrittas, a castle belonging to the Viscount Clanmaleer, he sent your Lordship with a party of fifteen hundred horse and foot to endeavour the succouring of that place, which your Lordship did, and Crawford drawing off, in pas-

sing the river of the Barrow, in a skirmish, had his thigh broken with a musket shot. You returned as Ballynekill was rendered. After this your Lordship remained at Kilkenny with the supreme council, and Preston went into the lower parts of the province with the army; of whose absence the enemies garrisons in the county of Catharlogh and Queens county, taking advantage, alarmed the county of Kilkenny, even to the gates of the city. Your Lordship was then by the council commanded to go against them; and therefore, having gotten together about 2000 men, with some cannon, you marched to Ballynunry, in the county of Catharlogh, and took it; as also Cloghgrenan, where the county of Wexford's regiment mutinied, but were reduced, and some examples made, served well for the future. Your Lordship marched thence into the Queen's county, and besieged Ballylenan, commanded by the Grimes's, a valiant people, with a strong garrison. But a great breach being made, their succour came by the way of Athy. Your Lordship was not well at this alarm, but laid upon your bed in your tent. However you made no great matter of it, knowing the succour could not be considerable; but your Lordship beating their succour in their view, the besieged garrison yielded, on condition to march out with their arms. And then your Lordship was perswaded to head the Mounster forces, of whose success, under your command, you give a full relation; and then returning to Kilkenny, gave the assembly an account of what had passed. Soon after the assembly being broke up, and a supreme council chosen to govern in their absence, you retired to Kilcash, your brother Butler's house, to rest your self. The council went to Ross, and whilst they were there, a trumpet brought

them a letter from the Marquess of Ormond, setting forth his being appointed by the King to hear your grievances, and to treat for an accomodation. The particulars of the letter you know not, but the trumpet was quickly dispatched with some slight answer; which coming to your knowledge, you repaired to Kilkenny, whither the council was returned; and on information, finding what you had heard to be true, you sent for Sir Robert Talbot, Sir Richard Barnwall, Colonel Walter Bagnal, and such others as were in the town, well affected and leading men of the assembly, though not of the council. Now being in your lodging, you acquainted them with what you had understood, and that if they would stick to you, you would endeavour to give it a turn. You all agreed on the way, which was to go to the council then sitting, to take notice of the King's offer, and their return; and to mind them that the consideration and resolutions concerning peace and war, the general assembly reserved to themselves only; and therefore to require that they would send immediately a trumpet of their own, with a letter to the Marquess of Ormond, giving him to understand they had issued a summons for a general assembly, in order to acknowledge the Kings gracious favour, in naming him his commissioner to hear your aggrievances and redress them. This you put in execution, and gained your point without much resistance.

The Marquess of Ormond being thus brought into a treaty, the confederate commissioners met at Siginstowne, near the Naas, as his Excellency had appointed, in order to a cessation of arms. At which time all parties laboured to get into possession of what they could. Colonel Monk, after made Duke of Albermarle, marched into

the county of Wicklow to take in the harvest, and possess some castles. Your Lordship being then commanded by the council to go against him, and having rendezvoused your troops, consisting of about 3000 horse and foot at Ballynekill, in the county of Catharlogh, notice was brought you that Colonel Monk was marched away in all haste to the assistance of the Lord Moor, then facing Owen Roe O Neil, near Portlester. You finding your self now to have nothing to do, thought it worth the while to endeavour taking in Dollarstown, Tully, Lacagh, and all other castles in the county of Kildare, between the rivers of the Barrow and Liffe, which you did; leaving garrisons in them. This done, you repast the Barrow at Minster-even, marched into Leix, and took three or four small places; but as you were going on, had advice from the commissioners at Siginstowne, that they had on the 15th of September, 1643, concluded a cessation of arms with the Marquess of Ormond, to which you submitted.

As your Lordship did also to the two peaces of 1646, 1648, both suitable, and of the same strain; and though both were of advantage only to the Irish, and highly dishonourable to the crown of England, and destructive to the English and Protestants, yet both were broken and set at naught by the Irish themselves, a just judgment of God against them, whose hands were full of blood; and there being no hopes that such untempered mortar could cement them and the posterity left alive of murdered parents, brothers, sisters, and other relations; or that ever the English could live out of danger, and free of massacres for the future, without exemplary punishment of the murderers and rebels, and bringing

them by forfeitures and otherwise to an absolute subjection to the laws, and keeping them in that state, as it is now hoped they are, and will be by the watchful eye of government.

I shall now, as briefly as I can, take the liberty to give your Lordship impartial remarks upon what your Lordship hath written in justification of the rebels, or tending to calumniate his majesties government, or English and protestant subjects; reserving a fuller account thereof to a fitter occasion.

In the first place, seeing your Lordships Mémoires dedicated to the king, I cannot but take notice how dangerous a thing it is, and of how bad consequence it may prove, especially in this case and juncture, to misinform his majesty; not that I do suspect or tax your Lordship of design to abuse the king; for I charitably believe, as your Lordship affirms upon your word, that they do not contain a lie or mistake to your knowledge, yet I must positively aver, and it is my part to make it good, that the relation wants the most material and pregnant truths in the principal part thereof, and of most consequence to the publick, as I doubt not your Lordship will believe and confess upon such glances as I shall make upon particulars as I go over them. But before I proceed, it will import the giving clear light to an affair, which contrary interests have so much endeavoured to perplex, to observe the state that unhappy kingdom of Ireland was in at the eruption of that fatal rebellion. A parliament sitting the year before in Ireland, both houses taking notice of some grievances growing upon them, and the want of some good new laws for advancing the prosperity and good government of that kingdom, did send chosen agents or commissioners, both lords

and commons, of most esteem amongst them, to attend his majesty in England, for redress of such grievances, and procuring such new grants and graces, as they were directed to move for, from a gracious king. His majesty received them favourably and with good dispatch ; they returned for Ireland fully satisfied, and loaden with all the graces and bounties good subjects could hope to receive upon such an address to their prince ; and what needed confirmation in parliament, was to be done when the parliament should meet, at the day to which it was prorogued. The people of Ireland were never better pleased than with the gracious returns his majesty had made by their commissioners. That kingdom never enjoyed a more profound, and more like to be lasting peace and prosperity ; commerce and trade, both at home and abroad, never flourished more ; barbarous customs were never more entirely subdued and abrogated ; there never was more unity, friendship, and good agreement, amongst all sorts and degrees (except in the standing root of mischief, the difference in religion) than at this time, nor more mutual confidence. I can say, being that time there, the sheep and the goats lived quietly together ; and there was that entire trust in one another, as to all matters civil and temporal, that I remember very well, the summer before the rebellion, the titular Bishop of Ferns coming his visitation into the county of Wexford, where I then dwelt, at the request of a popish priest, I lent most of my silver plate to entertain the said Bishop with, and had it honestly restored. In this serene and happy state was that kingdom, every one sitting under his own vine and fig-tree in peace, and in the abundance of all things, when, whether surfeiting of quiet and plenty, or by the just

judgment of God upon a sinful and superstitious nation; or that the said committees having staid in England till they saw symptoms of a misunderstanding between his majesty and his two houses of parliament in England, and being most of them papists, conceived they had fallen into a fit juncture to set up their darling idolatry, and restore the pretended jurisdiction of their idolized foreign power of the Pope of Rome, or being in at the intrigues of the popish faction at court, and receiving encouragement by what they observed, and was infused into them; they had here laid the foundation of the massacre and rebellion, whereof Ireland was to be the scene, or upon what other grounds I shall not here take upon me to determine; but I well remember that the 23d of October, after their return, broke out upon a formed combination and conspiracy, wherein almost all the said popish committees were leading men and principal actors, such a horrid and bloody massacre and rebellion, as is not to be parallell'd in history; neither man, woman, nor infants in the womb or at the breast being spared; but the generality of that nation turning barbarous and wild Irish again, after so many hundred years subjection to the crown of England, and endeavours of their reformation and civilizing to so vast an expence of blood and treasure, as is hardly to be believed. But, my Lord, I may now but touch at things, comme en passant, that I may keep within the bounds of a letter; but when what I have meditated, and am preparing from records and authentick, unquestionable relations and transactions of that bloody tragedy and matchless defection from the crown and very nation of English men, shall see the light, your Lordship will be informed of what, it seems, hath not yet

come to your knowledge, and what must make your Lordship blush at your so fatal mistake, to have ever been (so far as you confess your self) in so ill company, and to have partaken in the least in so foul a guilt.

Having made this necessary excursion and caution, I proceed in your Lordships own method, going first with your Lordship to the lords justices, acquainting them of your willingness to serve the king against the rebels, to which, no doubt, by advice of his majesties privy council in that kingdom, they gave a very prudent answer, that your religion was an obstacle; and how could they well say less, when it was apparent that it was a popish conspiracy, and those of that profession universally engaged in the defection; in so much that though the state there would have distinguished them into allegiance, and for that end, more out of desire to win them than any confidence they had in them, but to leave them without excuse, put arms and ammunition into the hands of the Lord Viscount Gormanston, and other popish lords and gentlemen of best quality and estates in the English pale; and who by their tenures had formerly, and were obliged to assist the crown in times of danger; and they, almost all of them, went with his majesties arms in aid of the rebels; and they who did best, did but restore the kings arms, and joyned themselves, and all the power they could make, to the insurrection; forgetting the grants and bountiful gifts of lands their ancestors had received from the crown for former, and on condition of future service; in which rank your Lordship placeth your noble ancestors, and I heartily wish you had continued that station.

Your Lordships next motion was to the lords justices, for a pass to go for England, which, though they could not consent to, they gave your Lordship good advice, and which for a time you followed (viz.) to go home to your house, being but 20 miles from Dublin, and under the protection or reach of the state, as there should be occasion, and as your Lordship found afterwards.

Concerning your Lordships entertaining my Lord of Antrim and the Dutchess of Buckingham at Maddingstowne, whither they soon followed, whether by consent with your Lordship is not said, and your delight in their company, I have nothing to say, but that it was an ill time for feasting and jollity, when stript, and almost starved English, came flying by your gate every day from the rebels cruelty. And I find, that both the Marquess of Antrim and the Dutchess were after that deeply engaged in the rebellion, and her Gracé living and dying in the Irish quarters, chose to be buried at Waterford. And though your Lordship had power enough, when the Irish came and drove away a great part of your stock, to recover it, by a party sent out with your brother, who brought with him two or three of the chiefest conductors of that rabble, yet you do not so much as pretend that you delivered up any of them to justice (as you ought). But you say that this enraged the Irish so much, as you conceived your brother was not safe there (where yet you thought fit to continue), but sending him to Dublin to attend the justices orders, and assure them of your readiness to return on a call, they sending a convoy, which they promised to do as occasion required, yet your Lordship hearing that you were indicted of high treason (the most publick way of accusing, though your brothers letter calls it clandes-

tine) you went to Dublin (it seems you could go when you pleased without a convoy) but did not, it seems, think fit to appear and oppose the indictment; but being committed by the lords justices and council (the justification whereof is not the work of this letter, but will have its proper time and place) your Lordship, after addressing your case by your brother to the king and parliament in England without success, whither your brother, being refused a pass by the justices, was gotten, it seems your Lordship meditated your escape into the Irish quarters, and relate the manner how you compassed the same, which few will believe your Lordship would have done, or held it the way to save your self, but that you knew you had deserved it of them, and that they had no cause to hurt you, as appeared after by their making you general of their horse; and your Lordship chusing the oath of association before that of allegiance.

Your Lordship having now shifted sides, be take your self roundly to a justification of the rebels cause, I must follow you your own way, though it be not so methodical as I could wish, and is with great confusion of times and affairs, which the thread of history will reduce to order when time serves. It is true that parties were sent out by the justices, according to his majesties direction, to kill and destroy the rebels throughout all the parts of the kingdom; and if the officers and souldiers did not take care enough (in your Lordships opinion) to distinguish between the rebels and the subjects, but killed in many places promiscuously (whereof your Lordship gives no instances, or of particular complaints to have been made of any such thing), I would fain know what distinction could be made of those that were

found in arms or action against the kings authority ; for there will appear to have been no prosecution of others, nor any others killed, unless by such accidents as might happen in full peace, and when the course of justice is free.

But your Lordship saith, that on this partly, and partly on other occasions that preceded, and some too that followed (but you enumerate none) the whole nation finding themselves concerned, took arms for their own defence; and particularly the Lords of the pale did so, who yet at the same time desired the justices to send their petition to the king, which was refused.

This being the chief ground by which your Lordship would justifie the most formed and dangerous conspiracy and rebellion that ever was in that kingdom since the crown of Englands first title thereunto, which your lordship (being a Peer of England) should have distinguished from a just and a lawful war, but do not ; I must observe to your Lordship, that its an ill way to acquaint the king with their pretended grievances, La main a l'epée; they should have done that, if they had any, before their treacherous and bloody massacres and open rebellion ; but indeed they had none to offer but what was the just return of their own black actions ; for your Lordship knows (as I have said before) that by committees of both houses of parliament in Ireland, whereof most were papists, they had just before their rebellion returned loaden with such graces and condescensions of favour from the crown, as had been sufficient (meeting with the least ingenuity, gratitude and humanity) to have made wavering persons good subjects ; but the Lord Mac Guires and others confessions manifested that they had laid their design of treason too deep to retreat easily, when

they had once struck the stroke, till finding their error, not from remorse, but from sense of danger imminent (which must inevitably follow, unless they could subdue England too). At the first they made a loud cry of grievances, and at length bid fair, as they had made Ireland a field of blood and desolation, to disturb England also.

Concerning the further discouragement the rebels received by Sir John Reads treatment, and what that was, and upon what grounds, though I have all the passages thereof by me, and will by no means allow of racking any man, as being contrary to the law of England, yet I must observe that it was a very jealous time, after so many thousands slaughtered barbarously in cold blood, the rebellion increasing every day, too great a curiosity arising to know the bottom of the design, that remedies proportionable might be applied; and Sir John Read being one of the kings servants and a designing papist, being there so unseasonably, without being able to give a good account of himself or business, and going away agent for the rebels in arms without leave of the state, might make them exceed the strict bounds of law in his examination.

Your Lordship in the next place taking notice that you had tryed this and other ways to acquaint the king with your grievances (which I have shewed before were none), and all failing, an open war broke forth generally throughout the kingdom; this being a meer colour and pretence, your Lordship unfortunately puts the effect before the pretended cause; for by what you had said before, and what the truth of the cause is, the horrid rebellion, (for it never merited the name of a war) was universal, before they so much as alledged any grievance. Your next Memoire is of your entertaining my Lord of Ormond at dinner after

the battle of Kilrush, which you were a spectator of; and that some who came with him turned it another way, publishing through the army that it was a feast for my Lord Mountgarret and the rebels, which through the English quarters past for current.

Here your Lordship, by your own shewing, intimates, that though you were a spectator from your own house of a battle wherein the crown lay at stake, and had formerly discovered you had force enough to recover your cattle taken away by the rebels, and apprehend some of their leaders, which you call rogues, yet (though a Peer of both kingdoms) you would be no actor, though the kings general was at your gate, doubting, it seems, the event of battle; but the success rendering my Lord of Ormond victorious, you set before him that dinner which you had not strength to keep from him. And indeed it was generally then held by the English, that if the rebels had gained the day, your lordship would more frankly have bid the Lord Mountgarret, their general, (and a Butler also,) welcome to that dinner than you did my Lord of Ormond; and this is what passeth current in this particular to this day, which you believe was much the cause of that villainous proceeding (as you call it) fore-mentioned; whereas it seems you were so far from being ill dealt with in the least, that my Lord of Ormond, your guest, though he might have justified his carrying you prisoner with him to Dublin, who would not assist him in fight as your tenure required, left you (as some think by a blameable omission) master of your own house, and without the least damage done you, though much happened after to the kingdom by your liberty, of which you were for some time restrained in the Sheriffs hands, and af-

ter ordered to be removed to the castle of Dublin, which you say startled you, and it brought to your thoughts the proceedings against the Earl of Strafford, &c. whereupon you made an escape, probably in the manner related.

But here your Lordship, not distinguishing times, and I not having papers by me, am so doubtful of an intermixture of affairs to your advantage, that I must reserve the unfolding thereof to another time, when I shall be able exactly to shew you the times of your Lordships appearing and joyning with the rebels; and of the proceeding against the Earl of Strafford, and how they preceded on the other. I shall only for the present observe how that great personage (though more innocent than your Lordship could pretend to) never fled his tryal, well knowing that would have fixed more guilt upon him in construction of law, than could be proved against him; and judged it more honourable to hazard the losing of his head than his innocence. Your Lordship's wisdom took a contrary course, and concluding that innocence was a scurvy plea in an angry time (as indeed it is in any times, where it is so thin laid that gross guilt appears under it) you find it safer to arraign the state than to abide a tryal; and accordingly taxing them for passion and partiality, and to be of the parliaments perswasion (when your Lordship would have had them and the whole kingdom of yours, and by what means time hath manifested) you resolved to attempt an escape and save your self in the Irish quarters, which your Lordship did to the mountains of Wicklow; where being come, you cared little for the justices. Is it possible, if your Lordship had thought your self innocent, that you would seek safety, or count your self safe among the most

enormously bloody and guilty men that ever were under the sun, and fly the kings justice with reflection and scorn upon the state, that was pursuing them for their crimes; and to avoid the inward stings of guilt or apprehension of punishment, run head-long into open and avowed guilt, among those who were under Gods vengeance and the kings. I leave this to your Lordship's more serious second thoughts.

Being out of the danger of justice, though your Lordship cared little for the justices (as how could your Lordship, when you were associated with those who had bid defiance to God and the king) yet your Lordship quickly saw a proof how civil and merciful they had been to you hitherto, when they, upon your escape, shewed you they had power enough to pursue you, and pillage and burn your house in your mountain view, and use your family as enemies, which they might have done before; but their constant course was to endeavour the regaining those who had faltered in their allegiance, and not to increase the number, which was too heavy upon them already.

Your Lordship at length arrived at the beloved place designed, the city of Kilkenny, head quarters of the confederate rebels, where you found many of your acquaintance preparing for their natural defence, seeing no distinction made, or safety but in arms.

Your Lordships heart was now at rest among your friends and relations, to whom indeed, after committing all the wickedness their hand of violence could reach to, being defeated in several battles by his majesties forces, and driven into their holds, defence became natural, their crimes having left them no hopes but in arms; and who could

expect no distinction to be made, where they were universally involved in the same black guilt.

For this end your Lordship saith they had chosen a council, formed an oath of association, made four generals of the four provinces, caused a seal to be made, raised moneys, constituted a general assembly, &c. all ensigns of the more than regal power they had usurped. To this council your Lordship was sent for, and being well prepared by those inclinations which made you forsake the king's government and the laws, you quickly closed with them upon the grounds before expressed, and upon consideration of their model of government, and very reasonable (as your Lordship judged it) oath of association, which your Lordship prints at large, and their desiring your conjunction, with thanks returned, your Lordship engaged your self to run a fortune with them, upon very ill principles, if anger and revenge inclined you to it as much as any other consideration (which you intimate, though you say you cannot resolve.)

Its strange how the Earl of Castlehaven and Lord Audley in England, could close so cordially with the Irish, who had shed so much innocent English blood in full peace, and think himself justified by such an account of his engagement as this, unless he had been resolved in the justice of their cause from the beginning, however he carried it with seeming fairness to the lords justices till he got out of their reach.

But engaged your Lordship was, and being thus confederate, and having taken the oath of association, becoming one of their council, and general of the horse under Preston, and giving the most specious account you can ,of your proceedings in that quality, truth being the greatest and best

friend, I had rather one or several persons and families should lie under the consequences of its impartiality, than that the English nation and protestant religion should suffer by a timorous unworthy concealing, or withholding any part of it. And since your Lordship, to palliate or justify your own actions, and the confederate Irish cause, endeavours to render the generality of the English protestants criminal, your Lordship must not think it much that I, one of English race, and for religion of the church of England, should be a little plain in their justification and defence; and for that end remove the mask your Lordship hath put upon the face of affairs, by continuing my remarques upon your Lordship's Memoires. And first to the constitution of a council, it was made up of members uncapable of that trust by law. In the oath of association, and propositions grounded thereon, there is not a word but breathes high treason except the first thirteen lines, which set up the king's name and authority only in pageantry and mockery, to be crucified and contradicted by all that follows; and yet this oath your Lordship held very reasonable, as the case then stood, that is, when you and your confederates were encouraged or heightened with a power able, as you fancied, to make good what you had sworn. And suitable to this ungodly, trayterous oath, were all the subsequent proceedings of the confederates, their councils at home and their actions abroad, their cessations and pretended peaces, which I shall take notice of more particularly in their respective series of time.

The general assembly met the 24th of October 1642; your Lordship saith it differed nothing from a parliament but that the lords and com-

mons sate together, and not in two houses. Was this so inconsiderable a difference in the opinion of a Peer of England as well as Ireland, or fit for one of so noble extraction to be submitted to, against honour, law and right reason. But the truth is, and I speak it for the honour of the nobility of Ireland, the rebels had not debauched enough of them, either for interest or number, to bear the countenance of a house of Peers, or to be of any considerable figure among that people, who having cast off majesty, could not be warmed by the beams thereof, which I count the nobility; but they resolved of course into common persons again, and had but single votes among the croud, instead of those honourable priviledges and negative voice which their ancestors had acquired as the just reward of their faithfulness to the crown in former times, and in all defections and rebellions since the subjection of that nation to England. And this your Lordship ingeniously confesseth (and saith we see it) was a force put upon you, and you hoped in time the storm being passed, to return to your old government under the king. Here you own the being fallen from it; but could your Lordship imagine, or any others believe this cobweb pretence possible, were you not all engaged by the bond of an oath to the contrary, and to preserve your new upstart treasonable model and constitution; and that the storm should never cease till you had by arms attained a confirmation of all that you had done, for which by the said oath, you renounced the receiving any pardon or protection, but by your own sword. But that assembly differed also from a parliament in this, that it was called by a packed party of bloody papists in rebellion and confederacy, and had neither legal nor regal authority.

But to conciliate credit and belief you add, that there were many learned in the law amongst you, whom you encouraged to keep you as near the old government as might be, holding to the ancient laws of the land.

This is as improbable as the other; but if true, is a demonstration that Irish popish lawyers are the worst instruments that can be tolerated in Ireland. And it is notorious in fact, that these were the men that did both contrive and put in order the rebellion, and frame their whole constitution, and without whose council and abilities (having had their education in the inns of court of England) they had never come out of that chaos of confusion where they were at first, or reduced their affairs to a consistency, but had been quickly mastered. And therefore I hope this hint concerning the lawyers will awaken his majesty and parliament of England, and the government in Ireland, to provide against the continuance of such dangerous instruments as the popish lawyers have shewed themselves to be, and in probability will so continue; making use of their learning and skill for subversion of government and good order; so that Ireland is never like to be quiet if they be tolerated. Your Lordship proceeds to tell us, that this assembly without delay approved all the council had done, (how could they well in gratitude do less, being themselves, a creature of that councils making) and settled a model of government, viz. that at the end of every general assembly the supreme council should be confirmed or changed, as they thought fit. That it should consist of twenty-five, six out of each province, three of the six still resident, the 25th was your Lordship, with no relation to any province, but to the kingdom in general, &c. Your Lord-

ship's relation was a mock image of his majesty, which was also to the kingdom in general, and, but that it is not now my business, I could here evince that this constitution cast the over balance of the government clearly into the Irish hands, such of the old English extraction as joined with them being ciphers upon the matter, as it appeared afterwards in practice: so improbable was what your Lordship asserts, that if a letter came to them written in Irish it would be wondered at, and hardly could one be found to read it, unless you would confess that those skilled in reading the Irish language are extinct; for the merest Irish of that kingdom, and all the popish clergy, who (if any) are likeliest to be skilled in it, were engaged in the rebellion and constant promoters of it, having their colleges and monasteries in Kilkenny, and all cities and chief towns under the confederate Irish power, and wholly at their command. For a close of this paragraph, your Lordship saith, you were not in case to bring to justice those that begun the rebellion, but you never saw any of them esteemed or advanced. This is strange, when Owen Roe O Neil, Sir Phelemy O Neil, Con O Neil, the Mc. Donnels, Mc. Thomas, the Farrolls, the Delyes, the Mc. Cartyes, Mc. Guires, Mc. Mahans, Fitzpatricks, Mc. Gennis's, and generally those of the mere Irish septs and families, were chiefly trusted, whose names it were too tedious to repeat, but I have authentick lists of them: but indeed I do believe the confederates, even of English extraction, had as little will as power to question those that begun the rebellion; and to this day they are so far from any inclination to condemn it, that their writings run in justification of it; and I never yet met with any that cordially seemed to repent it, or perswade

others to it, except only Peter Walsh, whom your Lordship calls your ghostly father, Caron, and some few remonstrants with them, who condemning the doctrines of rebellion, king killing, and deposing, &c. do obliquely censure this rebellion; and some of them positively call the beginners and continuers thereof to repentance.

The rest of your Lordships Memoires is more history than justification, as well whilst you continued to serve under the confederate catholicks, which was till the peace of 1646, proclaimed, as after, till you left Ireland, wherein your Lordships part being mixed of gallantry and generosity in some instances, as well as severity and fierce prosecution of the English in others, I will not be a critical observer thereof, or lead any to envy your Lordship the just esteem of whatever you did honourably, though in an ill cause. But since your Lordship lays some weight of merit upon the cessation, and two peaces of 1646 and 1648, and expresseth no unfavourable opinion of that which goes by the name of Glamorgan's peace, and think much that the Irish their estates were given away by the acts of settlement, I shall only make some general remarks upon those particulars, and the whole state of that rebellion, and so put an end to your Lordships trouble and my own.

And first, I must observe upon the whole matter, that the Irish did the English more hurt, and advantage themselves more by the cessation and two first peaces, than ever they did or could do by open force after the first massacre. Upon these grounds the lords justices and council were from the beginning averse to them; and for me to shew the design and intrigue of the cessation and peaces, which I can do by unquestionable memorials and records, will make a great part of a volume, and

cannot well come within the bounds of a letter; but when I have said all I think fit to you Lordship upon occasion of your letter, your Lordship who (as you were an enemy as keen as generous) having been by your place and interest privy to all the cabals and secret councils against the English and protestants, being deepleye ngaged in the Roman catholick confederacy, and any other attempts against them, in what shape or form soever they appeared, will, I hope, if you find any thing written by me questionable or doubtful in your opinion, favour me with your severest reflections thereupon; for as I design nothing but exact truth wherever it light, so if by inadvertency or want of full information, I should erre, or come short in the least, your Lordship shall find me ready to retract or supply, but never to persist in it.

Your Lordship knows as well as any man, that the Earl of Ormond, made afterwards Marquess and Duke with the same title, was the first of that family of the Botelers that was educated in the protestant religion; his mother the Lady Thurles, brothers, sisters, and all his relations continuing Roman catholicks, and in the Irish quarters; and those able to bear arms, as the Lord Muskry, after Earl of Clancarty, and Colonel Fitzpatrick, his brother in law, his brother Colonel Richard Butler of Kilcash, and Colonel George Mathewes, and other his relations, as the Lords Mountgarret, Dunboyne, and divers other Lords, and others of his name and family, were generals or commanders of lower quality in the rebels army; so that his Lordship was upon the matter single in any duty and allegiance to the crown, all his Lordships friends, kindred and dependants, taking the contrary part; and his Lordship escaping soon after the rebellion to Dublin, only with the kings

troop, which he commanded, and some servants that attended him. The Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant, as he was upon his journey for Ireland, was discharged that imployment, to make way for the Marquess of Ormond to succeed him, who had an unlimited commission sent him, sole to examine the pretended grievances of the Irish, and for making a cessation with the rebels, which he did, and was after made Lord Lieutenant, and concluded the two first peaces beforementioned. I have heard Sir Philip Percival, a very worthy person and of a fair estate, being asked why he would by his certificates of defect of stores, give countenance and furtherance to a cessation, which he knew could only advantage the rebels, and be ruinous to the English? answer, The stores were really wasted upon unprofitable, fruitless marches, and then his certificates being required, he durst not (as an officer) refuse them, though he was aware of the use would be made of them.

To shew your Lordship how the cessation operated (laying aside at present the question of the warrantableness or necessity thereof) and that the two first peaces were against law and several acts of parliament in both kingdoms (and upon that and other accounts, the validity thereof), I must take another opportunity, when I may discourse things more fully with your Lordship. I can now only briefly tell your Lordship, that all the proceedings of the rebels in arms, and all their demands, were treason: That the English and Protestants had the laws on their side, which the Irish by combination and force did break, and designed wholly to subvert: that the Irish tolerated no Protestants in their quarters, though that religion were the only legal establishment; but seized

and forfeited all their estates, whilst the Protestants afforded the measure and benefit of the laws to the Irish and Papists, even to those who had been in rebellion, whosoever they came in or submitted.

It is not then to be wondered at, that the chief and most of the English nobility in Ireland, and the generality of English, Scotch and Irish Protestants of all qualities and degrees, sooner or later, opposed both the cessation and peaces, as destructive to them, and derogatory to the Crown, in which number we find the Earls of Kildare, Thomond, Cork, Barrimore, Drogheda, Donnagall, Clanbrassill, Mount Alexander, &c. the Viscounts of Valentia, Conoway, Ranelagh, Kinnelmeky, Shannon, &c. Barons or Lords Elsmond, Inchiquin, Blaney, Broghill, &c. But it were endless to name all, and of no use to your Lordship, who know this as well as I.

By this it appears how ungratefully the Irish did requite the Marquess of Ormond, for his unwillingness that the whole Irish nation should ruin themselves by their persisting in rebellion. And now, whether it was their vain confidence to carry the day, or what else occasioned it, they lost the opportunity of deliverance which the Marquess of Ormond, being related to so many of them by blood and alliance, had compassionately designed for them, though with great hardship and damage to the English. And whatever grounds the Marquess of Ormond had for the cessation and peaces (by which he could have got nothing, but would have incurred manifest loss), which it chiefly concerns himself to vouch, that in the eye of the world he may stand clear as a true English man and faithful subject. It is apparent, that now by the forfeiture and punishment of the Irish, his

Lordship and family are the greatest gainers of the kingdom, and have added to their inheritances vast scopes of land, and a revenue three times greater than what his paternal estate was before the rebellion ; and most of his increase is out of their estates who adhered to the peaces, or served under his Majesties ensigns abroad ; which shews, that whatsoever of compassion or natural affection, or otherwise, might incline him to make those peaces, he is in judgment and conscience against them, and so hath since appeared, and hath advantage by their laying aside. The like may be said of the Duke of York, the Earl of Arlington, Lord Lanesborough, and others, who have great estates of the Irish freely given them upon the same foundation ; so that 'tis to be hoped, whether the bills already come over to confirm the forfeited rebels estates to English and Protestants will do the work or no, that his Grace, or whosoever shall succeed him in the Lieutenancy, will in time transmit such bills as shall do that work effectually, and unite and strengthen his Majesties Protestant subjects to oppose and break the further designs of that rebellious generation, which they will never keep free from so long as they acknowledge and obey a foreign head.

I shall make no reflection at this time upon the peace called Glamorgan's peace, but what your Lordship gives occasion for by mentioning it, viz. that it was the most destructive of all to the English and protestants, but suited best with the confederate design of establishing the Romish idolatry, which your Lordship in your oath of association engaged as deep in as any, excepting the first foundation laid in blood, a fit basis for a faction only supported by fraud and cruelty.

One passage in your Lordships Memoires I cannot but take notice of, for your honour, as an English man; that when the Marquess of Ormond, in his extremity between the Nuncio party and the parliament of England, asked your Lordship with which of his enemies he should treat, you answered, that you were confident he had resolved that before, there being no question in the case. When it was no question with your Lordship, I wonder how it came to be one with his Lordship; but the success of your council was happy, and founded upon solid grounds of reason.

Your Lordship sees I can but glance at particulars in this letter, and being (by so noble a pens engaging in justification of a quarrel which casts reflection upon all that took contrary part to the Irish, of which number I was one) contrary to my first intention upon the matter, necessitated (in vindication of as just a cause as ever was managed under the sun) to hasten out the last part of the general History of Ireland first, (wherein I shall so impartially make relation beyond all possibility of contradiction, that I doubt not your Lordship will reflect with remorse upon what you have done and written, wherein I differ from you; and the world will know exactly the truth of that sad story.) I shall in the mean time, only as in an abstract, set these things before you, and upon the whole matter, in answer to your Lordships specious justification, and for your present mortification, let you know that by judgment of the king and his privy councils and parliaments in both kingdoms, you are involved in the guilt of treason, and under forfeiture of all you have; and as a friend, yet advise you to get his majesties pardon, if the acts of parliaments have not precluded you; for its more than I know if all your Lordships active services in Ireland be

not yet liable to the utmost penalties and severities of the law. So far are they from being fit to be offered as entertainment to his majesty by an epistle dedicatory, as your Lordship hath done.

I find your Lordship in several places reflects upon those who broke the first peace, and call it unparallelled breach of faith, punished by heavy judgments from heaven; and yet this was the confederates own act. But as if the breach of the oath of allegiance by the Irish, and their treacherous and bloody defection from the crown of England, were a peccadillo, your Lordship hardly takes notice of it, but repines at the forfeiture of estates grounded thereupon, though God and man agreed in that vengeance and punishment. And let this rebellion be compared to all before it, there will not appear, since the English title to Ireland, so just and clear grounds of forfeiture and extirpating a nation as have done upon this; but the king hath mingled mercy with justice; and though by a providence from heaven to the English, the Marquesses of Ormond and Clanrickard, his majesties chief governors, encouraged the Irish to keep up a war against the English, wherein they were so much hardened to their ruin, that they were at length entirely subdued, without condition to any save for life, and left to be as miserable as they had made others in all other respects, yet multitudes of them have been restored, and must yet owe their lives and estates to the clemency of the king, and the mildness of the English government, which they had cast off, and put themselves under a foreign yoke, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear: the wisdom of God thus punishing one sin of theirs with another, till they are scarce a people; and the English and protestant interest never more flourishing in that kingdom. Insomuch, that it

would be now the greatest folly imaginable in the government of England and Ireland, ever to suffer the papists to grow capable of raising such a rebellion again, which they will certainly do when able; bigotry and sottish ignorance, both of priests and people in religion, being the growing root of mischief there.

Upon the whole, since the cobweb excuses your Lordship hath made cannot cover the blood that hath been shed, or bring quiet to the consciences of any that had hand therein; and since your Lordship so well knows the temper and constitution of the Irish, by your long continuance and interest among them, I cannot but yet hope (and therefore do with the most friendly adjurations beseech your Lordship herein) that the zeal which you yet seem to have for the king his laws, and the English government, will incline you to let him know (the truth you cannot be ignorant of) that they are a nation never to be trusted till reformed, that so his majesty and his English subjects may run no more hazards of suffering by confidence in them, or regard to their crocodile tears and groundless complaints, by which they have deceived the English in all times. And that by your repentance, imitating your ghostly father Peter Walsh, his advice to his countrey men for repentance and change of principles, your Lordship may give another instance to the world that allegiance and the religion you profess may dwell in the same breast, than which nothing can more conduce to divert the Irish from future attempts of rebellion.

My Lord, I find many queries fit to be made on your Memoires, and many other particulars; a redire therein, but you will, perhaps, think I have done too much already. I shall therefore reserve

these to another opportunity, and here close in the
wonted manner, with the assurance of my being
(saving in the Irish confederacy and matter of
religion)

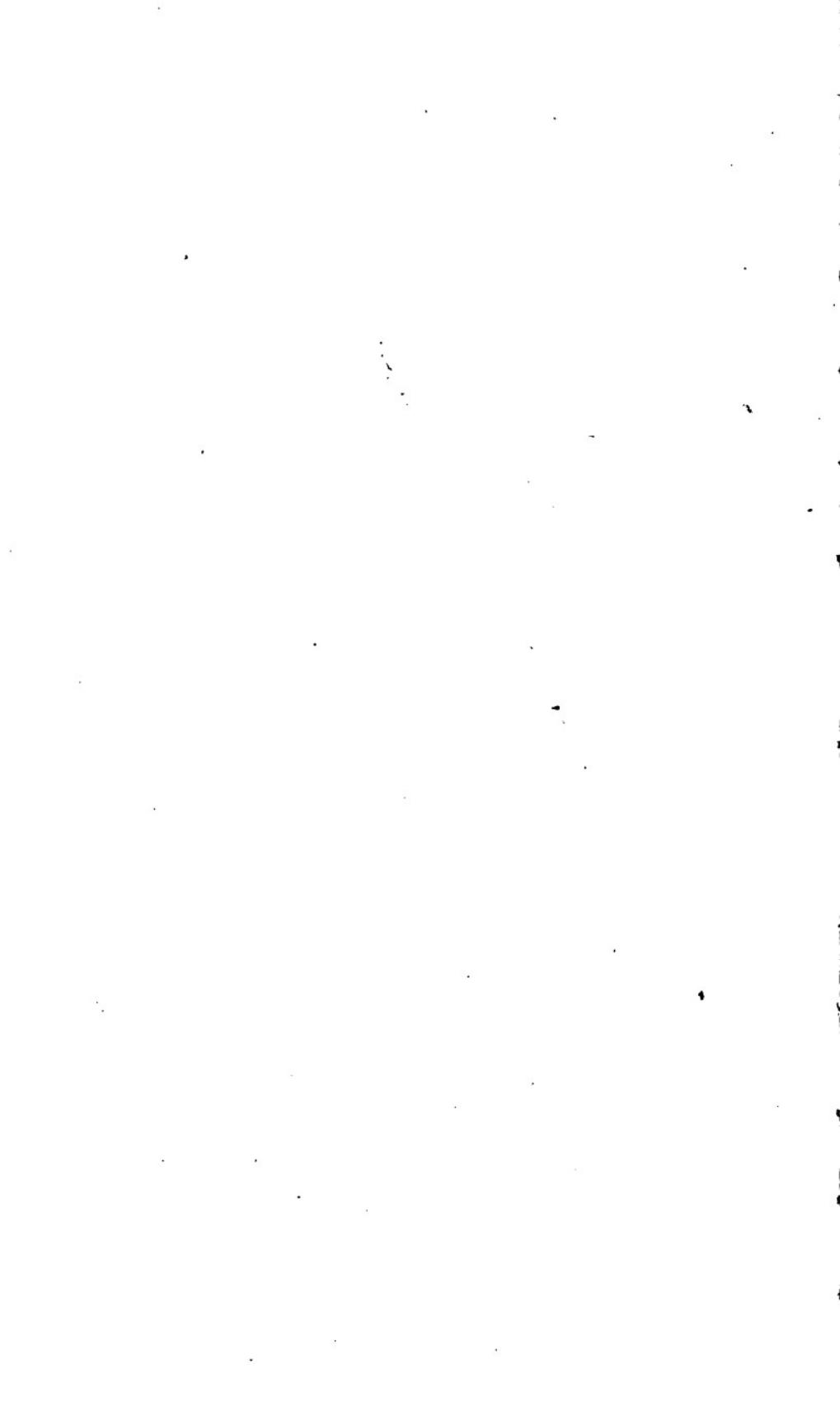
My Lord,

Your Lordships

Affectionate Friend

And Servant.

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defeated his horse, who, to save themselves, broke in on the foot, and put them into disorder: their cannons were useless, being past the black water. This (with God's blessing) and a great shower of rain, gave me the victory, with little or no loss. Sir Charles that commanded, with several other officers, remained prisoners; their cannon and baggage taken, and all their foot defeated; but their horse, for the most part escaped.— This happened on a Sunday, the 4th of June 1643.

Now having left the best advice I could for the improving this advantage, I took leave of the general, with others of the province, and returning to Kilkenny, gave the assembly an account of what had past, in order to their future commands. Soon after the assembly being broke up, and a supreme council chosen to govern in their absence, I returned to Kilcash (my brother Butler's house) to rest myself. The council went to Ross, and whilst they were there, a trumpet brought them a letter from the Marquess of Ormond, setting forth his being appointed by the king to hear our grievances, and to treat for an accomodation. The trumpet was quickly dispatched with some slight answer; which coming to my knowledge, I repaired to Kilkenny, where the council was returned; and on information, finding what I had heard was true, I sent for Sir Robert Talbot, Sir Richard Barnwell, Col. Walter Bagnell, and such others as were in town well affected, and leading men in the assembly, tho' not of the council, and having acquainted them with what I understood, I told them, if they would stick to me, I would endeavour to give it a turn. We all agreed on the way, which was to go to the council then sitting, to take notice *

of the king's offer and their return, and to mind them, that the consideration and resolutions concerning peace and war, the general assembly reserved wholly to themselves; and therefore to require that they would send immediately a trumpet of their own, with a letter to the Marquess of Ormond, giving him to understand they had issued summons for a general assembly, in order to acknowledge the king's gracious favour in naming him his commissioner to hear and redress our grievances. This we put in execution, and gained our point without much resistance.

The Marquess of Ormond being thus brought into a treaty, the confederate commissioners met at Siginstown, near the Naas, as his excellency had appointed, in order to a cessation of arms; at which time all parties laboured to get what they could into their possession. Col. Muncke (after made Duke of Albermarle) marched into the county of Wicklow to take in the harvest, and possess some castles there. I was commanded by the council to make head against him; and having rendevoyzed my troops, consisting of about 3000 horse and foot, at Ballynekill, in the county of Catharloe, notice was brought me that Col. Muncke was marched away in haste to the assistance of the Lord Moore, then facing Owen Roe O'Nell, near Portlester. Finding therefore now I had nothing to do, I thought it worth my while to endeavour the taking in Dollars-town, Tully, Lacagh, and other castles in the county of Kildare, between the rivers of Barrow and Liffey. I began with Dollarstown (a place about a mile from Kilcash, where they had a garrison) and marched from my camp with 3 or 400 horse, and about 300 foot; and coming before

afterwards employed to raise armies against the king in England) to reduce the rebels of that kingdom. But the greatest discontent of all was about the lords justices proroguing the parliament (the only way the nation had to express their loyalty, and prevent their being misrepresented to their sovereign), which, had it been permitted to sit for any reasonable time, would, in all likelihood, without any great charge or trouble, have brought the rebels to justice: For the war that afterwards ensued was headed and carried on principally by members that then sat in parliament. And to say these members were all along concerned in the rebellion, or engaged with the first contrivers of it, is to make them not only the greatest knaves but the veryest fools on earth, since otherwise they could not have been so earnest for the continuance of the parliament, whilst sitting in the castle, and under the lords justices guards, who upon the least intelligence, which could not long be wanting, had no more to do but to shut the gates and make them all prisoners, without any possibility of escape, or hopes of redemption.

Thus the contagion spread itself by degrees over the whole kingdom, and now there's no more looking back, for all were in arms, and full of indignation; there was fighting almost in every corner, and very unfortunately for me, one encounter happened in the night of my house, at Maddingstown, between the Marquess of Ormond, commanding the English, and the Lord Viscount Mountgarret the Irish forces, where the latter was defeated. This encounter goes by the name of the battle of Kilrush, fought the 15th of April 1642. The English were not above 3000 men strong, but were bold and expert troops, well officered, with some cannon; the Irish were more in number,

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but ill armed, and but newly formed into bodies.

After this defeat my Lord of Ormond being to pass with his army, just by my gates, some of his officers of my acquaintance came galloping before, assuring me his lordship would be with me in half an hour. Hereupon I bestirred myself, and having two or three cooks, a good barn-door, and plenty of wines (for besides my own family I had with me the Dutchess of Buckingham, the Marquess of Antrim, her husband, and the lady Ross, Mr. Daniel his sister) we patched up a dinner ready to be set upon the table at my Lord's coming in; but some that came with him turned this another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and published through the army, that it was a mighty feast, prepared for my Lord Mountgarrett and the rebels. This, thro' the English army, passed for current, and I believe did me no small prejudice with the lords justices, as shall appear in the sequel of my story, which I shall now pursue with a letter I received from my brother, Col. Mervin Touchett upon this occasion.

"Hearing your Lordship is now writing some-
"what again of your concerns in Ireland, during
"the late war: tho' I, as one that was with you
"there in the beginning of the troubles, and
"therefore possibly might remind you of some
"passages more in my knowledge than yours,
"have before written to you on that subject; yet
"now remembering some things I had then omit-
"ted, I add them here.

"When the rebellion broke forth in the North,
"you were in Munster; and on the news, you im-
"mediately repaired to Dublin, to the lords justi-
"ces, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace,
"where you acquainted them with your willing-

POSTSCRIPT.

THIS Letter was written, as appears, in August 1680, presently after the Earl of CASTLEHAVEN had published his Mémoires, with a dedication only to the King; but since his Lordships receipt of this Letter, he was, it seems, convinced of the necessity of writing the Epistle to the Reader, in condemnation of the Irish rebellion, which his Lordship hath since caused to be printed with the said Mémoires.

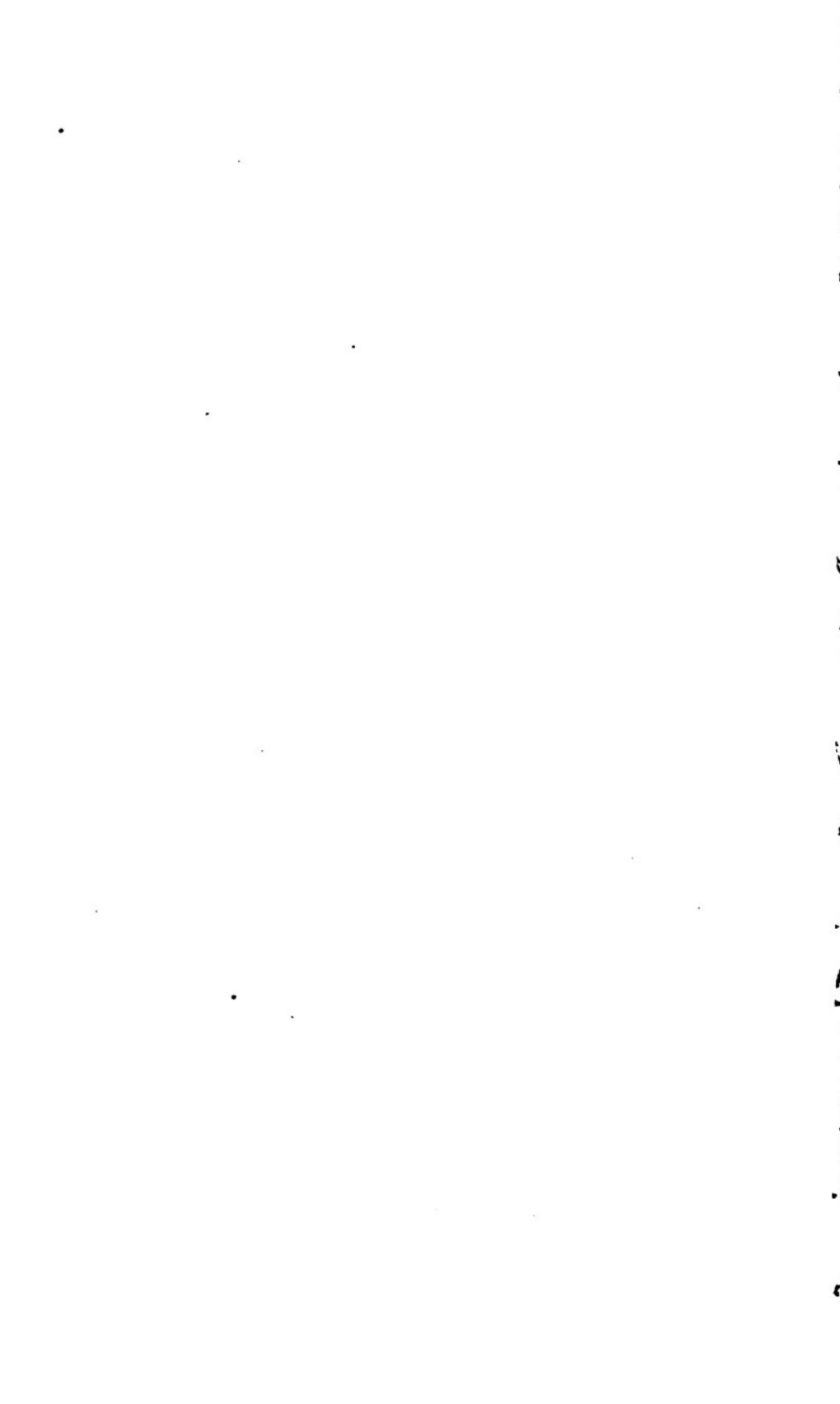
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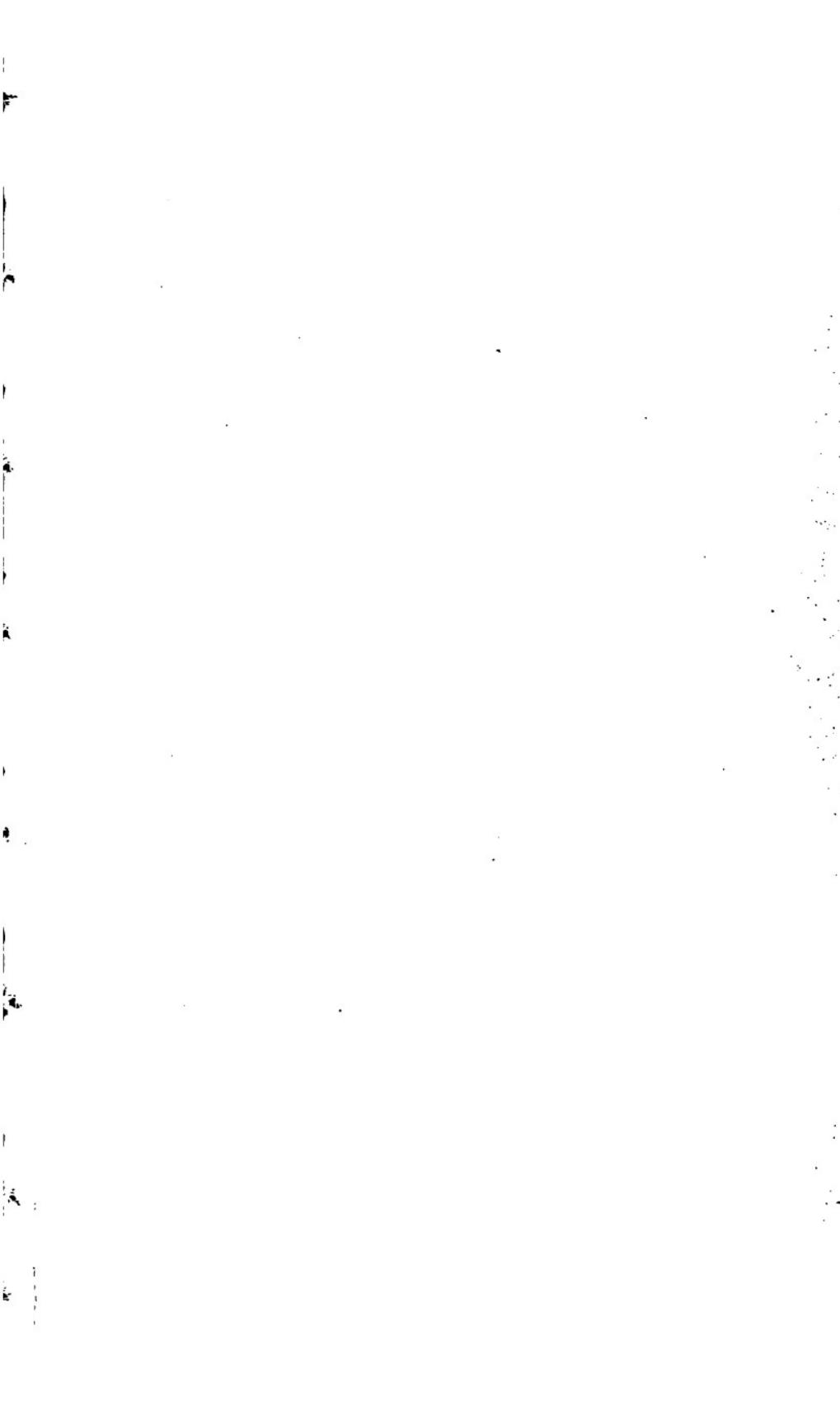
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